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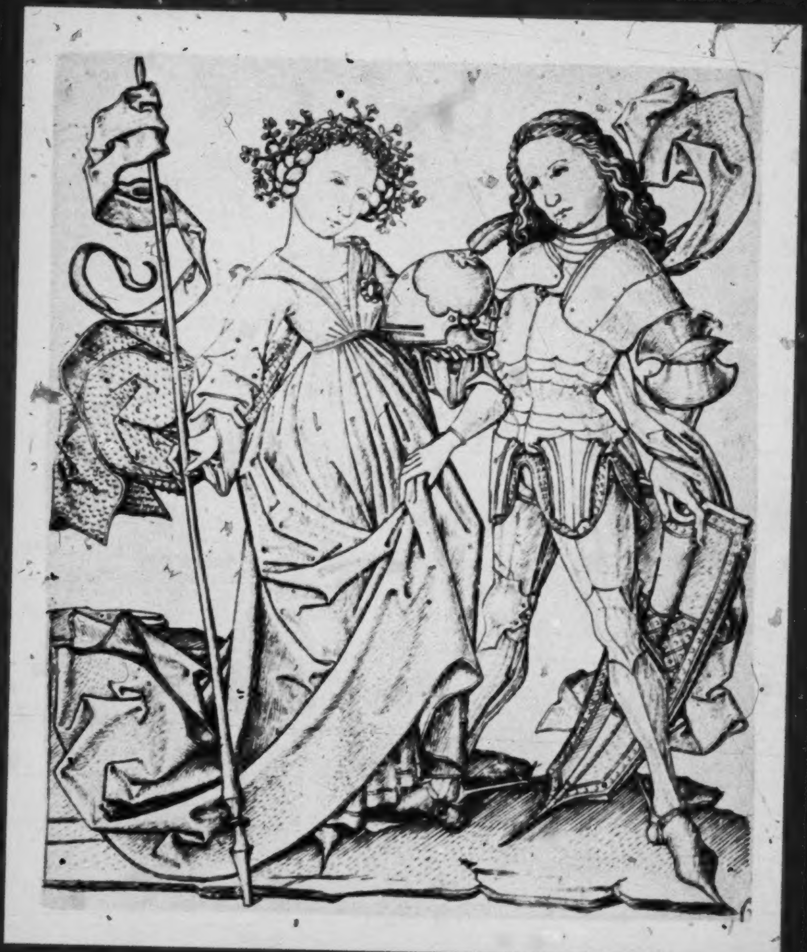

FIFTEENTH CENTURY ENGRAVINGS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

OF NORTHERN EUROPE

COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

WASHINGTON: National Gallery of Art

Exchange

FIFTEENTH CENTURY ENGRAVINGS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
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FOREWORD

This is the second in a series of graphic art exhibitions at the National Gallery of Art. The first was held two years ago, in December, 1965, and January, 1966, and was devoted to fifteenth-century woodcuts and metalcuts. Three-hundred-sixty-five prints were shown, the largest exhibition of its kind, so far as we know. Richard Field, Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings, prepared the illustrated catalogue, which reproduced each exhibited print.

The present catalogue has been prepared by Alan Shestack, another Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings. It is devoted to Northern European engravings of the fifteenth century, the subject of our second exhibition. All but nine of the prints shown come from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. The nine exceptions, engravings by Martin Schongauer (cat. nos. 38, 51, 53-55, 57, 58, 60, 71), were donated to the Gallery by W. G. Russell Allen.

In the present exhibition there are fewer unique examples. Instead, the appeal of rarity is replaced by the charm and the exquisite craftsmanship which accompanied the mannered beauty of late Gothic art. The ornamental quality of the late Gothic north of the Alps finds one of its most perfect outlets in the art of engraving with its emphasis on free linear movement and complex calligraphy. The almost flawless technical mastery of these engraved sheets, superb in their own right, also prepared the way for the emergence of

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Albrecht Dürer and one of the greatest epochs in the history of graphic art.

Though seldom unique, fine impressions of fifteenth-century engravings are extremely scarce. Mr. Rosenwald, as he explained in his preface to the first catalogue, was able to acquire a great portion of his remarkable collection of early woodcuts by a single stroke of good fortune, when he purchased the Aufhäuser Collection. The engravings in this catalogue, on the other hand, were collected gradually and patiently until in certain fields, the prints of Martin Schongauer and Israhel van Meckenem, for example, the National Gallery of Art now has a collection unsurpassed in America and one that approaches the holdings of the most important print cabinets of Europe.

I would like to thank Mr. Rosenwald for his immense generosity which has made these biennial exhibitions possible. It was his suggestion that a catalogue be prepared for each exhibition so that in the end the entire collection would be recorded and the series of catalogues would display the whole panorama of printmaking from its beginnings to the present. I would also like to congratulate the two young scholars, Richard Field and Alan Shestack, who have compiled our first two catalogues, publications in which the National Gallery of Art takes, I believe, justifiable pride.

John Walker
Director

PREFACE

From the origins of printing in the fifteenth century, engraving was a refined and sophisticated medium. Whereas woodcuts were created for a mass public, engravings were made for a more elite and learned audience. While both techniques aimed at achieving "multi-originals," the cruder forms which resulted from the action of a cutter's knife in wood were very different from the more subtle and intricate results achieved by the engraver's burin pushed through a copper plate.

Engraving is directly opposite from woodcutting. Only those lines which are below the surface of the plate appear in the finished print. The material generally used for making an engraving is a copper plate. The artist uses an instrument called a burin, or graver. The burin is a steel rod four or five inches long which has a lozenge-shaped cross-section. This steel rod is fitted into a round wooden handle which is flat at the bottom. The engraver holds the wooden handle in the palm of his hand and clasps the steel rod near the point. Because of the shape of the point, the more pressure used, the deeper and wider the lines. Lines engraved in a copper plate hold ink in proportion to their depth and width; very shallow furrows hold little ink, while deep ones hold much ink and produce a very black line. The engraver thus has the opportunity to use a variety of finely and deeply incised lines and to create an almost unlimited effect of light and shade.

The engraver commonly covers his copper surface with a white coating on which he can draw with a pencil. He then takes his burin and incises the plate through the pencil lines. Great skill is involved in engraving the plate. When the lines are all incised, the artist rubs ink over the entire plate so that each incised line is filled. After this, he rubs off all the ink from the surface of the plate, making sure that the ink remains only in the lines. A dampened sheet of paper is then put over the plate and the plate and paper are put through a roller press under heavy pressure. This actually forces the paper into the incised lines. The ink in the lines is pulled out onto the paper, to which it adheres.

Literally thousands of impressions can be printed from a woodblock, but copper plates yield relatively few good proofs. Copper is a relatively soft metal. The transfer of the ink in the incised lines to the paper requires a press with considerable pressure. The printing operation causes the copper plate to lose a little of its thickness each time it goes through the press. (It is exactly the same as the process used in rolling mills to alter the thickness of steel.) In this "thinning" of the copper plate, some of the very finely engraved lines disappear. In subsequent impressions, they hold no ink. These very fine lines often determine the subtle character of the print; the modeling or the shading. A worn plate will no longer reflect the great skill and beauty with which it was originally endowed. It eventually becomes a shadow or a ghost of what was at one time a superb work of art.

One could wish that all prints in an exhibition like this one would be of the highest quality, impressions printed early from the copper plate while all the incised lines were adequately deep. This is never possible; the ideal can only be approached. This is true for several reasons. First, the number of examples of the highest quality were few in number even to begin with, and many great prints have not survived in the finest impressions. Hardly more than half a dozen prints by the Housebook Master, for example, are in all collections in the United States combined (see cat. no. 139). Hence, it becomes imperative to compromise. Otherwise no comprehensive collection could be assembled and only a few outstanding examples could be gathered together. The collector is faced with this dilemma and he has to choose either the best impressions that are available or go without the print altogether. This choice determines the discrimination of the collector. If he sets excessively high standards, he will prefer to do without a print if he cannot acquire one of the most superb quality. Occasionally the collector has the very good fortune of obtaining what he knows to be the very best; that no matter how long he lives he will never get a better impression. Two examples of this sort in the present exhibition are catalogue numbers 114 and 125.

In the present exhibition the standard of quality is high. Those who have closely studied fifteenth-century engravings will be aware of the compromises made in acquiring things of less than superb quality, when they were the only impressions available. We can certainly claim that the group of prints exhibited here conveys a good cross-section of engraving in Northern Europe during the fifteenth century.

Those who wish to know more about the individual prints shown here may come to appreciate them by reading the illustrated catalogue written by Mr. Alan Shestack. Such a study by those unfamiliar with this high form of art will be richly rewarded. I recommend it heartily.

Lessing J. Rosenwald

Printing from engraved plates originated in the workshops of goldsmiths in southern Germany, probably in the Upper Rhine region between Constance and Strassburg, in the 1430's. The art grew out of the goldsmiths' practice of filling with ink the designs they had incised on metal plates so that trial impressions could be imprinted on paper. Engraving had been practiced throughout the middle ages for the decoration of jewelry and ecclesiastical objects, but it was only with the mass production of paper in Europe in the early fifteenth century that printing from engraved plates became a possibility. At first, proof impressions were taken on paper only to check on the accuracy of the engraved work on the metal, to make a record of the engraved design, or to provide the goldsmith's apprentices with patterns for their own work. It was not long, however, before the potentials of this printing process were realized; many goldsmiths turned to engraving in order to produce pictures which could be cheaply multiplied and distributed. Goldsmiths dominated engraving in Northern Europe from the outset until about 1470. In the later decades of the century, however, many painters (e.g. Martin Schongauer, the Master of the Housebook, Master LCz, Mair von Landshut) began to divide their time between painting and engraving. These artists set a precedent which was followed by many of the great painters of subsequent eras and is still being practiced today. Despite the predominance of painter-engravers after 1470, many personalities documented as goldsmiths, tinsmiths, or pewterers—Israhel van Meckenem and Wenzel von Olmütz, for example—continued to be active as engravers.

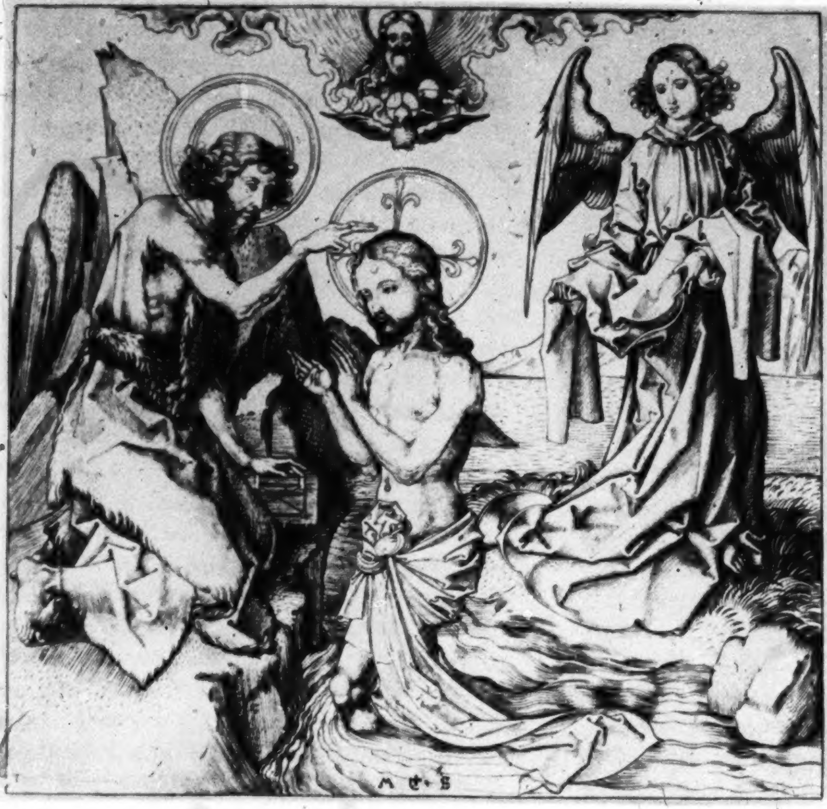
Some 3100 different pre-Dürer engravings have survived to the twentieth century. The great majority are listed in Max Lehrs's nine volume corpus, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen, und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhunderts,* published between 1908 and 1934. Though only a fraction of these engravings is signed or dated, Lehrs found that they could be attributed on stylistic grounds to about 70 different hands. Of these, a mere eight or ten stand out as truly skillful craftsmen while the others appear to have been workshop colleagues or imitators of the few superior personalities. The guild rules normally allowed master goldsmiths only two novices and two journeymen. Hence, the workshops of goldsmiths and engravers were not very large. Works by twenty-two of the personalities discussed by Lehrs are included in our collection, along with several engravings (cat. nos. 17-19, 250-61) which have not been attributed to any specific hand. In the present catalogue, when we refer to an engraving as a "school" copy of a certain master, we mean that it is a work done by a minor independent printmaker whose style was influenced by the master in question. Prints were often transported long distances to be sold at fairs and church festivals, and therefore a stylistic connection between two engravers does not necessarily imply a workshop connection, or even geographic proximity.

It is noteworthy that none of the very earliest engravers signed their plates, except perhaps with a hallmark, and they have remained anonymous to this day. It would not have occurred to these late medieval artisans to seek personal credit for their productions. The engravings by these personalities have been gathered together by modern scholarship, and their authors have been given names on the basis of their best or most characteristic works or the location of the museum or collection in which their best work is found. Thus, the earliest engravers are distinguished by names such as the Master of the Nuremberg Passion or the Master of St. Wolfgang (cat. no. 3). As the century progressed, it became increasingly common for artists to sign their plates. In the 1460's, one engraver occasionally initialed his plates with the monogram E.S. (see cat. no. 16). Martin Schongauer, whose early work was done about 1470, monogrammed every single print he created (see cat. nos. 34-115), as did most of his followers and imitators (see cat. nos. 117-20, 121-22, 123, 125). By the 1490's engravers began to sign their Christian names, and almost all of Mair von Landshut's prints (cat. no. 142) and most of Israhel van Meckenem's late works are fully signed. When Dürer emerged in the 1490's, German printmakers had developed pride in their work, and late medieval anonymity had been replaced by a new Renaissance outlook which placed importance on individual creativity and personal reputation.

The overwhelming majority of early engravings, especially those representing the Passion or the saints and their martyrdoms, were intended as souvenirs of shrines and pilgrimage places or as devotional images to be sold to the devout at church doors, fairs and festivals. The Church itself appears to have commissioned some engravings of *The Mass of St. Gregory* to be sold as indulgences (see cat. nos. 213-15), while a few engravings depicting the Christ Child were even designed for use as New Year's greetings. Some engravings were pasted into prayer books as substitutes for miniature paintings (cat. no. 258; also nos. 18, 25, 26). Indeed, the survival of many engravings through the centuries is probably due to this fortuitous practice. Many secular subjects, scenes of knighthood and chivalry, heraldic emblems, battle scenes, love-gardens and couples engaged in philandering, as well as satirical sketches of the struggle between the sexes were also treated by the early engravers. Another secular function of engraving was to satisfy the growing demand for playing cards following the introduction of card games in Europe in the late fourteenth century (cat. nos. 9, 138).

In some cases, the engravers intended their prints as models for their colleagues or for provincial wood-carvers, painters, or decorative artists. Engravings were frequently employed in the workshops of even the greatest sculptors, and it was common practice for the master sculptor to supply his apprentices with engravings to serve as compositional guides. Prints by Master E.S. and Schongauer were particularly admired by the sculptors, and one frequently finds single figures or entire wings of folding altarpieces which are based directly on engraved prototypes. We reproduce here a relief carving, possibly from the wing of an altarpiece, which is attributed to a Polish follower of the great German sculptor Veit Stoss. It is juxtaposed with its source, a Schongauer engraving of the 1480's (figs. 1, 2). In the fifteenth century little value was placed on artistic originality. Once a particularly successful motif was introduced, it became the property of all and there was no stigma attached to the imitation of one artist by another. Several fifteenth-century engravers are known only as copyists (see Master of the Banderoles, cat. no. 30; Wenzel von Olmütz, cat. nos. 123-24). Indeed, some four-fifths of the *oeuvre* of Israhel van Meckenem consists of copies after the work of other artists (see cat. nos. 162-71, 198-208).

The earliest engraving which bears a date is the unique *Flagellation of Christ*, which is preserved only in the Berlin print room (fig. 3). Its author is called the Master of 1446 because of the date which appears in Roman numerals above the pillar to which Christ is bound. Engraving was probably practiced in Northern Europe for some ten or fifteen years before this print was created. Nevertheless, it provides a clear example of the style and technique of the first stage of Northern engraving. The outer contours of the figures are deeply and decisively incised, while the interior modeling is composed of tiny strokes and flicks of the engraving tool. The short hyphen-like strokes create a kind of furry texture on the surfaces. There is a tendency, furthermore, toward ornamentalization of form. The hair of the tormentor on the left, for example, is no less stylized than the foliate patterns which decorate the moulding at the top of the scene. The firmness of the drawing of the

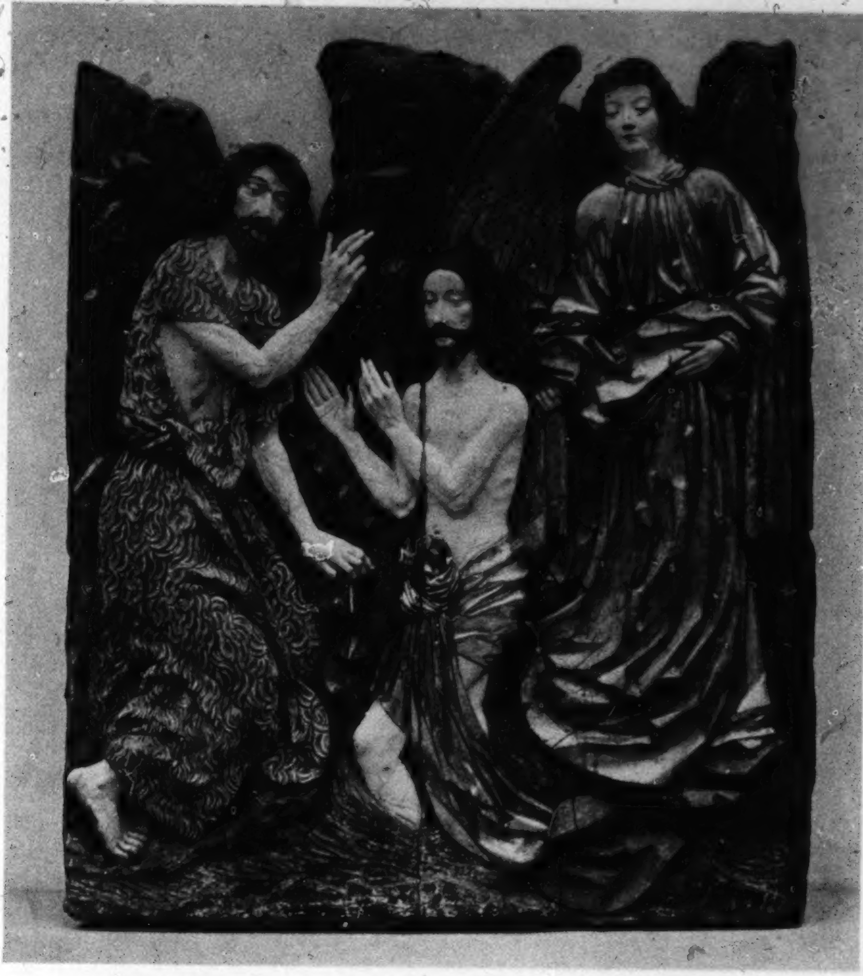


1. Martin Schongauer, *The Baptism of Christ,* National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection

contours as well as the decorative character of the details are evidence that the Master of 1446, like many of the other early engravers, was trained as a goldsmith and was accustomed to decorating metal plates with engraved ornament. It is just as clear that he was not trained in the drawing of the human figure. His scenes were probably copied from paintings which he had admired. The stylistic affinities connecting the Master of 1446 with Hans Hirtz, the leading painter of Strassburg in the 1440's and 1450's, are too pronounced to be coincidental. The use of short, sketchy modeling strokes probably represents the engraver's attempt to simulate in the medium of engraving the subtle tonal gradations in the paintings he imitated.

The greatest contemporary of the Master of 1446 and the earliest engraver whose works survive in considerable numbers is the so-called Master of the Playing Cards (fig. 4). His engravings are much more refined than those of the 1446 Master, and his figures—more lovely and agreeable—are also more sensitively drawn. The Playing Card Master's engravings, however, exhibit the same technical qualities which characterize all first generation German engravers. The contours are emphasized while the interior modeling is delicately engraved and is composed of hundreds of light parallel burin strokes.

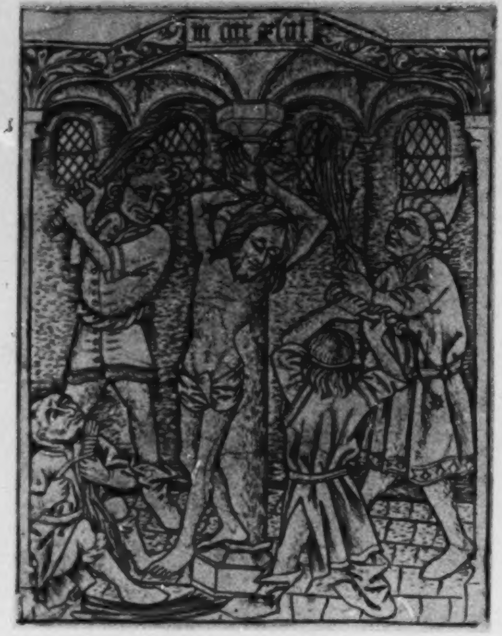
The second generation of engraving in Germany was dominated by Master E.S., an Upper

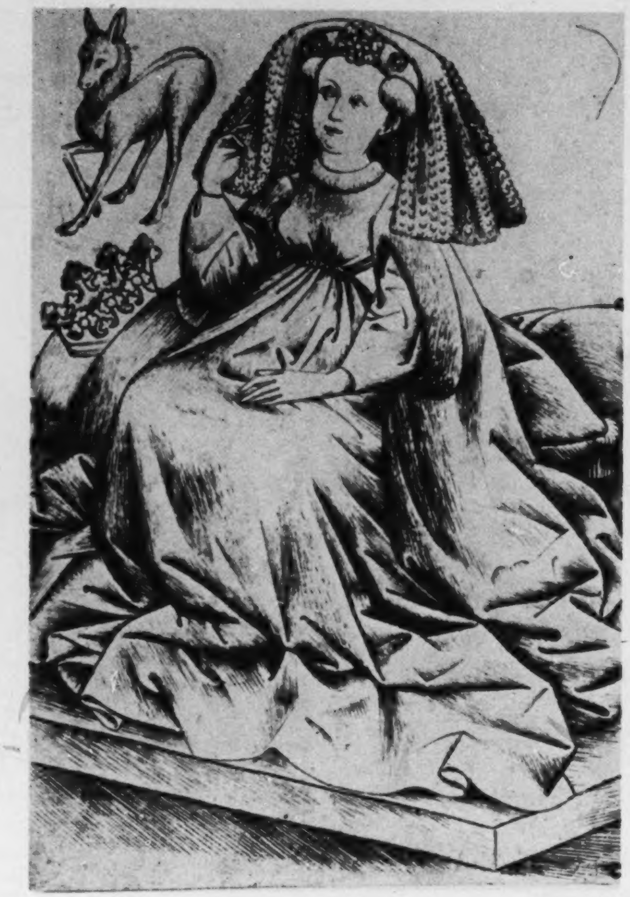


2. Follower of Veit Stoss, *The Baptism of Christ*, wood carving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912

Rhenish goldsmith who was active from about 1450 to 1467 (see cat. nos. 4-16). Master E.S. invented cross-hatching, the use of systems of burin strokes which cross each other in parallel series (see cat. no. 13 and fig. 5). Although there are still reminiscences in E.S.'s work of the light flick technique of the prior generation, E.S. begins to employ thick accumulations of modeling strokes to suggest shadows and to define three-dimensional form. In his *St. Peter* (cat. no. 5), the modeling is extremely disciplined. The strokes of hatching follow the direction of the major contours, emphasizing both bulges and recesses, and endowing the figure with a strong sculptural feeling.

Martin Schongauer, the leading figure between 1470 and 1490, also worked in the Upper Rhine region. Schongauer further developed and perfected the cross-hatching technique of E.S. To a greater degree than any of his predecessors, Schongauer took advantage of the natural action of the arm muscles as he pushed his burin through the copper surface, making long, deep strokes. He then combined these modeling lines in carefully controlled networks. The comparison of a detail of drapery modeled by Master E.S. (fig. 5) and drapery modeled by Schongauer (fig. 6) dramatically exhibits Schongauer's achievement. Schongauer's long systematic lines are interspersed with short curved lines which model every swelling and pocket of drapery. The lines tend to dissolve into short

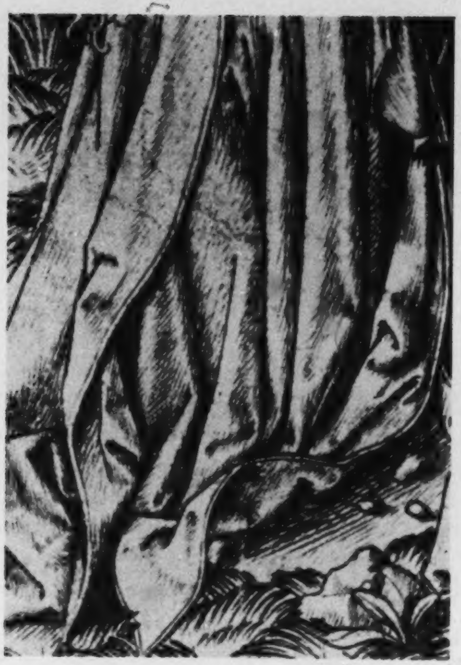




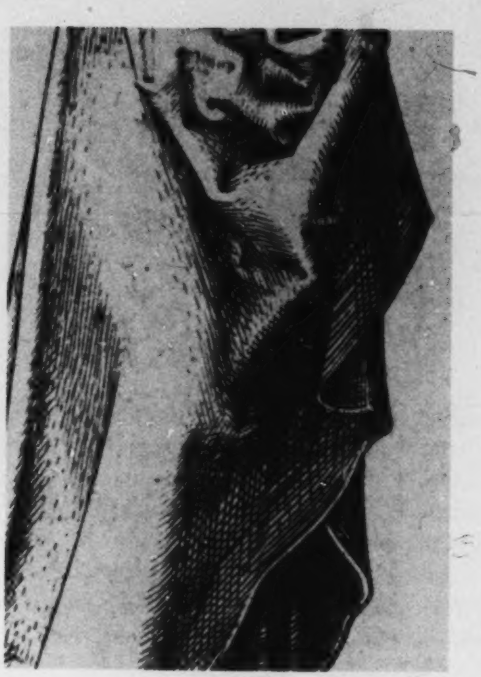
3.–4. *Above:* Master of 1446, *The Flagellation of Christ*, Staatliche Museen Berlin; *Right:* Master of the Playing Cards, *The Queen of Stags*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

hyphens as they move out of dark shadows and into light. Schongauer thus developed a precise graphic vocabulary for the presentation of convincing solid form, and evolved a style which emphasizes rigorously controlled tectonic drapery systems. Schongauer's technique, with its regular lines firmly incised, has the double advantage of producing a greater number of good impressions than the more lightly engraved work of his predecessors at the same time that it presents an impeccably tidy and finished appearance.

Although engraving in the Lower Rhine region was not as important for future developments as was South German engraving, we can trace a stylistic and technical evolution in Lower Rhenish engraving which parallels in a general way the evolution briefly outlined for the Upper Rhine region. The Master of the Berlin Passion (cat. nos. 20-22) is the technical and stylistic equivalent of the Master of 1446. His figures are squat and somewhat awkwardly drawn. The contours are firmly, if somewhat stiffly, engraved and the modeling is accomplished with random hatches, lightly scratched into the plate. The Master of the Berlin Passion was the father of Israhel van Meckenem, and Meckenem's early work clearly shows dependence on his father's style and technique (cat. nos. 155-56). Meckenem, however, gradually



5. Master E.S., detail of cat. no. 7



6. Martin Schongauer, detail of cat. no. 101

evolved a sensitive burin manner employing stringently controlled cross-hatching, which—though it lacks somewhat the tectonic form-creating quality of Schongauer's modeling—surpassed Schongauer in graphic richness and the suggestion of light effects and color. (See cat. nos. 216-227, 228-29, 232.)

Within only six or seven decades, from the beginning of engraving to the closing years of the fifteenth century, enormous technical gains were made. Engraving was liberated from the realm of the crafts or trades and became worthy of the time and effort of the leading painters. The subtlety and refinement of engraving distinguished it from its sister art, the woodcut. The limited number of legible impressions which could be printed from a copper plate also made engravings more precious and exclusive than woodcuts which could yield unlimited editions. The engravers, aiming at a discriminating audience rather than the mass public, paid more attention to aesthetic and technical problems. Hence, engraving in the fifteenth century displays a constant stylistic evolution and an increasing technical facility. By the time Dürer appeared in the 1490's, a vocabulary for modeling three-dimensional form and for defining textures had been brought to near perfection. Engraving had become a full-fledged independent art form.

The standard catalogue of fifteenth-century engraving in Germany, France, and the Netherlands is the monumental nine-volume corpus compiled by Max Lehrs. Without the benefit of Lehrs's pioneering work, the present volume would have been all but impossible to write. Of the 261 prints listed and illustrated here, only eleven are undescribed by Lehrs (cat. nos. 1, 2, 17, 25, 26, 28, 156, 253, 256, 257, 261). We have followed Lehrs's system, listing the individual engravers in the same order, earlier masters preceding later ones. We deviate from this arrangement only in grouping at the end of the catalogue twelve anonymous engravings from different decades of the century and different geographical locations (cat. nos. 250-61). Whereas Lehrs lists the works of each engraver iconographically, with Old and New Testament subjects first, followed by devotional images of Christ and the Virgin, then Saints, religious allegories, and finally genre subjects and ornament prints, we have tried to organize the work of each artist in an approximate chronological sequence regardless of subject matter. In the case of artists substantially represented in our collection—especially Schongauer (cat. nos. 34-115) and Meckenem (cat. nos. 154-249)—we hope that our chronologies will prove useful to students and provide a framework for future improvements and refinements.

The catalogue entries for each engraver are preceded by brief but documented essays which summarize what is known of the artist's life and activity. These summaries vary in length according to the available bibliographical material. We have dwelt on certain artists (e.g. Master LCz, Master PW) who are represented in the collection by only one or a few prints. This has been done in order to review the current literature. In some cases, that of Master PW, for example, we felt that the extant literature was misleading and in need of rebuttal.

The catalogue entries follow the general format established in the first volume of this series. The reference "Lehrs V.240.53" indicates that the print is discussed as no. 53 on page 240 of the fifth volume of Lehrs. Measurements are given in millimeters, height before width. If a border line is present, we have measured it rather than the edge of the sheet. In each of his volumes, Lehrs reproduces the most common watermarks found on the described prints. When we mention a Lehrs number in conjunction with a watermark description, it refers to the appropriate Lehrs illustration. A Lugt number indicates the presence of a collector's mark, usually on the verso. The "B-number" following the Provenance is the National Gallery accession number. Our references are by no means complete. In the case of Schongauer, we note only the pages in the two most recent monographs where further information can be garnered. Needless to say, the great majority of the references are not to citations of our own prints, but to other impressions of the same engravings in European collections.

The author wishes to thank the numerous people who have provided advice or assistance in the preparation of this catalogue. At the National Gallery of Art, Katharine Shepard, Colles Baxter, H. Diane Russell, Henry Beville and Stanley Manzer have been most helpful. Messrs. Beville and Manzer made the majority of the excellent photographs. The late Michael Corcoran, former assistant librarian of the National Gallery, was of enormous help in tracking down important bibliographical sources when research for this catalogue was in its initial stages. He was a dedicated librarian and a fine person, and is sorely missed.

In Philadelphia I have been aided by Fred Cain, who designed the page layouts for the illustrations, and by Nina Shaw who typed the lengthy and difficult manuscript. William Fox performed many favors to expedite production of the catalogue and to prepare the prints for exhibition. Throughout the production phase of the catalogue, George Beck and Ralph Painter of the Beck Engraving Company have shown keen interest in the quality of the typesetting and reproductions.

The following scholars, curators, and librarians have kindly answered my queries or permitted me to tap the reservoirs of their specialized knowledge: Clifford S. Ackley, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Fedja Anzelewski, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; Walter Cahn, Yale University; Felton Gibbons, Princeton University; Frederick Goff, Library of Congress; Rudolf Hirsch, University of Pennsylvania; Jane C. Hutchison, University of Wisconsin; Hans Kaufmann, Free University of Berlin; Robert A. Koch, Princeton University; Karl Kup, New York Public Library; Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris; Ruth Magurn, Fogg Art Museum; John R. Marquand, Harvard University; Dorothy Miner, Walters Art Gallery; Kneeland McNulty, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Hans Möhle, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; Erwin Panofsky, Institute for Advanced Study; Jakob Rosenberg, formerly Harvard University and National Gallery of Art; Henry P. Rossiter, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Heinrich Schwarz, Wesleyan University; Seymour Slive, Harvard University; Mary Ward, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

Special thanks must be offered to my friends, Alan Fern of the Library of Congress, Charles W. Talbot, Jr. of Yale University, and Richard S. Field of the National Gallery of Art, all of whom were frequently called upon to provide assistance with bibliographical and historical questions. I am also deeply grateful to Lessing J. Rosenwald for his encouragement, and to my forbearing wife, Nancy, who patiently edited the entire catalogue.

Alan Shestack

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Only basic sources and frequently cited works are listed here. Abbreviations are provided in the left column to facilitate use of the catalogue. Additional sources can be found in the footnotes of the catalogue entries and in the brief essays on the individual engravers. For thorough bibliographies, the reader is directed to the Thieme-Becker *Künstlerlexikon*, XXXVII, and to Hollstein, XII. Thieme-Becker provides complete listings of publications up to 1950 on the anonymous masters and monogrammists. Hollstein furnishes thorough and up-to-date bibliographies on the early engravers of the low countries. More recently published material is cited throughout the present catalogue in the relevant places.

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MASTER OF THE PLAYING CARDS

Active ca. 1435-1455

The first personality in the history of engraving is the Master of the Playing Cards. It is likely that his activity began as early as the 1430's and that he was still flourishing in the 1450's.[1] He is named for his finest work, a set of engraved cards, most of which survives in unique impressions, preserved primarily in the Dresden print cabinet and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[2] It was thought originally that this master was the inventor of engraving and that he was a goldsmith of the Lower Rhine region, stylistically related to the Cologne painter Stephan Lochner.[3] Early in the twentieth century, however, the stylistic relationship of the Master of the Playing Cards to Swiss and southwest German painting of about 1430 to 1450 was recognized, and one scholar, Leo Baer, went so far as to identify him as the great Basel painter, Konrad Witz.[4]

Although subsequent scholarship has rejected the Witz hypothesis, Baer did succeed in pointing out the stylistic traits which link the Master of the Playing Cards to the Upper Rhine rather than to Cologne, and it has become generally accepted that the earliest engravings in Europe were done in the Rhine valley between Constance and Strassburg. The Upper Rhenish character of the Master of the Playing Cards' engravings was confirmed by Lehrs in 1908 on the basis of comparisons of style and costume with mid-century Swiss paintings and woodcuts and also the evidence of the artist's intimate knowledge and realistic treatment of the cyclamen, an Alpine violet, which consistently appears in the master's oeuvre and which abounds in the Alps, especially in the region around Lake Constance.[5]

The Master of the Playing Cards, by virtue of his sophistication and sureness of hand, could hardly have been the inventor of engraving. His work never displays that crudeness or primitive quality one expects to find in the earliest attempts in a new medium. Moreover, his technique and personality are anything but goldsmithlike. The plants and little animals which appear in the playing cards are very sensitively handled, not stylized in a goldsmith's manner. The artist also conceives form three-dimensionally, and betrays a painter's outlook by using gradations of tone for modeling and for conveying delicate textures. His figures are modeled with tonal masses composed of hundreds of thin parallel strokes. In short, he engraves much in the way that an artist might draw with a pen or silverpoint. Although Geisberg considered the Master of the Playing Cards to have been a goldsmith,[6] it seems clear now that he was primarily a painter who availed himself of the newly invented technique of engraving in order to multiply his designs.

The recent evidence which affiliates the Master of the Playing Cards with Mainz[7] has led some scholars to conclude that he was not Upper Rhenish, after all, and that he had his workshop in Mainz.[8] It was common practice, however, for Rhenish artists to travel up and down the Rhine from one art center to another, and the present writer sees no reason to conclude that the Master of the Playing Cards was in Mainz for anything more than a temporary visit. His stylistic connection to Konrad Witz and to the Strassburg painter, the Master of the Karlsruhe Passion—that is, to the painters of the Upper Rhine region—remains valid and convincing.[9]

Although the National Gallery owns no works definitely by this master, two early engravings in the collection closely reflect the style and spirit of his work.

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[1] *Recent evidence seems to place him in Mainz in the early 1450's. See Dorothy Miner*, The Giant Bible of Mainz, 500th Anniversary, *Washington, 1952; Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt*, Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards, *New Haven, 1966*, passim.

[2] *The entire set of cards is reproduced in Max Geisberg*, Das Älteste Gestochene Deutsche Kartenspiel, *Strassburg, 1905.*

[3] *Wilhelm Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte des ältesten Kupferstichs,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *X, 1887, p. 128.*

[4] *Leo Baer, "Eine Zeichnung des Meisters der Spielkarten,"* Festschrift Friedrich Schneider, *Freiburg, 1906, pp. 63-76.*

[5] *Lehrs*, Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog, *I, pp. 65-66.*

[6] *Max Geisberg*, Die Anfänge des Kupferstichs, *(Meister der Graphik series, II), Leipzig, 1923, p. 29.*

[7] *Miner (see footnote 1) claims that the Master of the Playing Cards authored some of the miniatures in the margins of the*

Giant Bible of Mainz *of 1452-53 (Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, ms. no. 28). Lehmann-Haupt (footnote 1) shows that the illuminations in the* Giant Bible *and the engraved playing cards go back to a common source, probably a model book used by both the illuminator and the engraver. Lehmann-Haupt thus attributes the "painterly" style of the engraver to the fact that he imitated a model book intended for painters.*

8. Friedrich Lippmann, Der Kupferstich, *7th ed., revised by Fedja Anzelewsky, Berlin, 1963, pp. 15-16.*

9. For a persuasive argument relating the Master of the Playing Cards to Upper Rhenish painting, especially that of Strassburg, see Lilli Fischel, "Oberrheinische Malerei im Spiegel des frühen Kupferstichs," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, *I, 1947, pp. 27-32; See also Ilse Futterer, "Zur Malerei des frühen XV. Jahrhunderts im Elsass,"* Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XLIX, 1928, p. 192.*

1

THE CROWNING WITH THORNS

Ca. 1440-50
Undescribed
87 x 60 mm.

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern,
Catalogue 18, no. 11; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-8336

Toward the middle of the fifteenth century a sizeable group of German painters and printmakers reacted against the lingering influence of the so-called international or soft style—supple in form and idyllic in temperament—and adopted a new, sometimes brutal realism. In a few cases, as with Konrad Witz, the new style took the form of an unprecedented concern with presenting solid, blocky figures in simple, well-defined spaces. In the work of other artists such as the Master of the Karlsruhe Passion,[1] the Master of the Erfurt Regler Altar, and Hans Multscher, the new style was characterized by expressionistic tendencies: intentional coarseness of form and ugly, uncouth and often dwarf-like figure types. Our unique engraving, with its rudely caricatured types and its emphasis on drastic action, clearly belongs with works of the latter group. It also accords in style and spirit with the engravings of several Rhenish printmakers of about 1450, especially the Master of the Nuremberg Passion and the Master of 1446. Indeed, our engraving is identical in almost every detail to an engraving of the same subject by the Master of the Nuremberg Passion,[2] a minor follower of the Master of the Playing Cards active in South Germany at mid-century. Lehrs has suggested that the engraving by the Master of the Nuremberg Passion, which is one of a series of Passion scenes, may itself be a copy, perhaps after a lost work by the Master of the Playing Cards.[3] The similarity of our engraving to that of the Nuremberg Passion Master, and the fact that the images on both prints face the same direction make it probable that both were copied from the same prototype. It is also likely that our print is the sole survivor of what was once an entire set of Passion scenes.

Although the crude, heavy-handed burin work and primitive character of the draftsmanship in our engraving do not immediately call to mind the more sensitive style and refined technique of the Playing Cards Master, our print is analogous to several lesser works from that master's school, especially a group of four Passion scenes attributed by Lehrs to the immediate circle of the Master of the Playing Cards,[4] and by Geisberg, erroneously, to the master himself.[5] In these four Passion prints we find the same kind of squat figures with stiff gestures and highly abbreviated feet, hands, and facial features, as well as the same harsh flicks and strokes of modeling and heavy black inking that are seen in our engraving. Our engraver, however, lacked the deftness of hand and charming naiveté of the engraver of the four Passion scenes. The figures in our print have gnome-like faces and the drapery folds, especially those of Christ's robe, are crudely drawn and are aimless in their function, suggesting that the engraver copied the prototype slavishly, but with little understanding. We can thus conclude that this engraving is the work of a provincial Rhenish artisan who had seen and admired and had tried to emulate the engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards and his circle.

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[1] The Master of the Karlsruhe Passion has recently been identified as the Strassburg artist, Hans Hirtz. See Lilli Fischel, Die Karlsruher Passion und Ihr Meister, *Karlsruhe, 1952.*

[2] Lehrs I.154.6; reproduced in Geisberg, Die Anfänge, *pl. 31.*

[3] Lehrs, Kritischer Katalog, *I, p. 155.*

[4] Lehrs, I.155.7, 155.8, 156.9, 157.10.

[5] Geisberg, Die Anfänge, *p. 34; pl. 12.*

2

VINE ORNAMENT WITH TWO BIRDS

Ca. 1440-50
Undescribed, unique
94 x 60 mm.

Provenance: Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels, Lugt 567; purchased from William Schab, 1950
B-19,131

One of the earliest surviving ornament prints, this lively engraving was probably intended as a model or pattern for goldsmiths and wood carvers. Engravers were often called upon to provide compositional ideas for craftsmen who decorated small cases or coffers of wood or precious metals.

The thinness and delicacy of the hatching strokes on the vines and leaves give the foliage a soft, velvety texture. Modeling of such subtlety is encountered at this early period in the work of only one engraver, the Master of the Playing Cards, and it is tempting to ascribe our print to that master or one of his followers. The attribution is supported by the spirited, somewhat humorous confrontation of the two birds, which are extremely similar to the bird types in one suit of the deck of cards which gives the master his name.[1] The vine, with its curving lines swinging into circular forms, is very much like the spiral and counter-spiral ornamental borders which illuminate the *Giant Bible of Mainz,*[2] a manuscript book of the early 1450's which is now believed to have been decorated by the Playing Cards Master and his atelier.[3]

In the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig there is a unique reversed copy of our engraving, attributed by Geisberg[4] and Lehrs[5] to Israhel van Meckenem, and considered by both scholars to be a copy of a lost engraving by Master E.S. This writer finds little in the Braunschweig engraving which connects it with Meckenem's oeuvre, especially his dry and pedantic copies after E.S. Indeed, if we must relate the Braunschweig copy to the work of a particular personality, it must be the work of the Master E.S. himself. The firm, sure handling of the burin in the Braunschweig print, with its relatively long, widely spaced strokes, is very similar to the hatching in characteristic E.S. ornament and flower engravings.[6] The two birds in the Braunschweig engraving also approximate in treatment the birds which appear in Master E.S.'s set of large playing cards.[7] Lehrs and Geisberg were correct in viewing the Braunschweig impression as a copy, but should have dated it a generation earlier. It is probably a copy by Master E.S. or one of his contemporaries after our engraving, which we should like to identify as a work by the Master of the Playing Cards or, more likely, one of his closest associates.

It is interesting to note that when Lehrs[8] and Geisberg first published the Braunschweig engraving, they considered it to be a *Hochfüllung,* a vertical design. Rudolf Berliner, however, reproduced it horizontally, as a *Querfüllung,* in 1926.[9] Following Berliner's suggestion, Lehrs stated in 1934 that he had earlier been wrong, and reproduced the print horizontally.[10] The present writer feels that Lehrs and Geisberg were correct in the first place. Seen vertically, the Braunschweig print—and hence our engraving—makes better sense, creating a much more pleasing compositional rhythm. The large vine springs up from the lower left corner and, given both physical and compositional support by the branch that bends into the lower right corner, curves up and around, giving blossom to a large flower at about the center of the sheet. It then branches again into two round forms at the top. Seen horizontally, the composition becomes awkward and loses its grace.

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[1] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *I.109.60-73; reproduced in Max Geisberg,* Das Älteste Gestochene Deutsche Kartenspiel vom Meister der Spielkarten, *Strassburg, 1905, pl. 12-16.*

[2] *Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, ms. no. 28.*

[3] *Dorothy Miner,* The Giant Bible of Mainz, 500th Anniversary, *Washington, 1952; Helmut Lehmann-Haupt,* Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards, *New Haven, 1966.*

[4] *Max Geisberg,* Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S., *Berlin, 1924, pl. 244.*

[5] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *IX.450.604, reproduced plate 262, no. 628.*

[6] *Compare especially Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *II.326.239 and 326.240 (both reproduced in Max Geisberg,* Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S., *pl. 174).*

[7] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *II.342.265; reproduced in Max Lehrs,* Die ältesten deutschen Spielkarten des Königlichen Kupferstichkabinetts zu Dresden, *Dresden, 1885, pl. XI, fig. 29.*

[8] *Max Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstiche,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XVI, 1893, p. 45.*

[9] *Rudolf Berliner,* Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, *I, Leipzig, 1926, p. 4.*

[10] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *Tafelband IX, pl. 262.*

MASTER OF ST. WOLFGANG
Active ca. 1440-1450

This engraver takes his name from one of the three small prints attributed to him by Lehrs, a depiction of St. Wolfgang in bishop's attire.[1] Wolfgang was a bishop of Regensburg in the tenth century. In 976 he entered the Abbey of Mondsee in the Austrian Alps, where he spent the remainder of his life in solitude. Mondsee is located in the region of Austria near Salzburg known as the Salzkammergut, a district in which St. Wolfgang is still venerated.[2]

Most of the St. Wolfgang Master's surviving engravings were discovered in the library of the Mondsee Abbey, pasted in fifteenth-century manuscripts. It is thus likely that our engraver was employed by the monastery, if he was not himself a monk. This supposition finds support in the stylistic relationship of his engravings to the work of the only other Austrian engraver of his time, the Master of the Death of the Virgin,[3] and to two Salzburg painters of about 1430 to 1450, the Master of Hallein and the Master of Laufen.[4] In the paintings of these masters we find figures which greatly resemble the Wolfgang Master's figures, especially in their facial types and in the soft, flowing quality of their drapery which spreads out on the ground in broad, flat folds.

The very stiff, angular outlines and the erratic, stipple-like hatching characteristic of the Master of St. Wolfgang suggest that he was not a trained artist or goldsmith, but an amateur, probably a monk who ventured to do only the three engravings by which he is known today.

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[1] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *I.277.3.*

[2] *One village of the Salzkammergut bears St. Wolfgang's name and is the site of Michael Pacher's "St. Wolfgang" altarpiece of 1481.*

[3] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *I, pp. 279-287.*

[4] *Paintings by these artists are reproduced in O. Fischer,* Die Altdeutsche Malerei in Salzburg, *Leipzig, 1908, pls.7,16, and in Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *X, pls. 32-39; The work of the Laufen and Hallein masters was first organized and the personalities of the two artists clearly defined by Otto Benesch, "Neue Materialen zur altösterreichischen Tafelmalerei,"* Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, *N.F.IV, 1930, pp. 155-184.*

3
ST. BENEDICT AND THE MONK ROMANUS

Ca. 1440-1450
Lehrs I.276.2, plate 31, no. 83
86 x 60 mm.
Printed on vellum and hand-colored gray, brown, tan, green and pink

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-8318

The Abbey of Mondsee belongs to the Benedictine order. It is thus not surprising that the St. Wolfgang Master, whom we have tentatively identified as a monk of that abbey, should have portrayed an episode in the life of the order's founder.

According to the *Golden Legend,*[1] St. Benedict left his studies as a young man and went to live in the wilderness, taking shelter in a cave. For three years he lived in utter solitude, his whereabouts known only to a monk named Romanus who provided him with food. Since Benedict's cave was not easily accessible, Romanus' custom was to tie a loaf of bread to a long rope and lower it to Benedict from the top of the mountain. According to legend, Romanus rang a bell to inform Benedict that his meal had arrived. Our little engraving shows St. Benedict looking up from his reading as Romanus lowers a jar and loaf of bread. The devil, at the upper left, provoked by Romanus' charity, is about to hurl a rock at him.

Wilhelm Schmidt considered this engraving to be a crude copy after a lost engraving by the Master of the Playing Cards,[2] a notion that was correctly contradicted by Lehrs.[3] It is more likely that the print takes its stylistic cues from contemporary Austrian painting and might even derive from a painted original which has not survived. Comparison with the *Crucifixion* in St. Florian by the Master of Laufen, dated by

Stange about 1440,[4] reveals many common features. Especially noteworthy are the emphasis on rigid contours and on drapery folds which, though angular, suggest the softness and suppleness characteristic of the international style. Hands are stiffly drawn and have angular, chiseled fingers, and faces are somewhat morose, the mouths turning down at the corners. The Master of St. Wolfgang also shares with the Laufen Master the curious notion that trees grow only out of the very tops of hills. The way tree-clusters in the engraving are perched on hilltops is extremely similar to the idiosyncratic placement of trees in the Master of Laufen's *Crucifixion*.

Of the six examples of this engraving that were preserved in Vienna, all are hand-colored and one of them approximates very closely the coloring of our impression. The presence of the coloring and the traces of a gold border suggest that this print was intended to imitate miniature painting.

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[1] *Jacobus de Voragine*, The Golden Legend, *translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, 2 vols., London and New York, 1941, vol. I, p. 195.*

[2] *Wilhelm Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte des ältesten Kupferstichs"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *X, 1887, p. 129.*

[3] *Lehrs*, Kritischer Katalog, *I, p. 274.*

[4] *Stange*, Deutsche Malerei, *X, p. 18, pl. 36.*

MASTER E.S.

Active ca. 1450-1467

Master E.S., the most important engraver active in the two decades following 1450, was the first graphic artist to sign his prints with a monogram. The letters E.S. appear on eighteen of the master's later works, most of which are dated 1466 and 1467. Of the 317 universally accepted E.S. engravings, fifty exist in only two known examples and ninety-five are unique. This suggests that many of the master's prints have not survived in even one impression, and that his oeuvre originally consisted of 500 or more engravings.[1]

There is ample evidence that E.S. was a goldsmith. He frequently used small goldsmith's punches on his plates to decorate hems on garments or to embellish armor, and many of his engravings were obviously models for goldsmith's work (L.238-40, 306, 307-14). Furthermore, E.S. consistently displays the sensibility of a goldsmith. His outlines are firm and crisp and he tends to compose two-dimensionally, filling the copper plate with decorative form. Finally, two of his engravings depict St. Eligius, the patron saint of goldsmiths (L.141-42).

As early as 1891, Lehrs theorized that E.S. was a Swiss or South German who worked in the Rhine valley between Constance and Strassburg.[2] Despite numerous attempts to locate E.S. elsewhere—in Mainz[3] and Frankfurt,[4] as well as the lower Rhine region—most of the evidence seems to reinforce the plausibility of Lehrs's original hypothesis. The inscriptions on E.S.'s prints are in the lower Alemanian dialect, indicating the region around Constance and St. Gall. In E.S.'s late prints a Swiss watermark, the bear of Bern (Briquet 12,256-12,283) appears with regularity. Still further evidence of E.S.'s Swiss connection is found in his two series of engraved playing cards (L.226-40, 241-82). In both sets there is a suit of shields. This suit is lacking in all other German playing cards of the fifteenth century except those which are definitely of Swiss origin. When Israhel van Meckenem, a North German, copied the E.S. cards, he faithfully reproduced all but the suit of shields which he changed into a suit of flowers. E.S. was also commissioned by the Benedictine abbey of Einsiedeln in 1466 to create a series of three prints in connection with the five-hundredth anniversary celebration of the miracle of Einsiedeln. It has been shown recently that E.S. was physically present in Switzerland in 1466 when he carried out this commission.[5] For the largest of the three Einsiedeln prints (L.61) E.S. adapted a composition from a mural dated 1445 in the Cathedral of Constance.[6] The painting, which decorates the tomb of Bishop Otto von Hachberg, provides undeniable proof that E.S. sojourned in northern Switzerland.

E.S.'s prints are often compared to the sculpture of Nicolaus Gerhaert van Leyden, a Netherlandish sculptor who appeared in Trier and Strassburg in the early 1460's.[7] Gerhaert introduced into Germany a sculptural style which emphasized dynamic spatial effects. His highly activated figures are usually swathed in drapery with sharp ridges alternating with cavernous hollows. Gerhaert is considered the fountainhead of German sculptural style in the second half of the fifteenth century. With the engraved line, E.S. often created forms which are the equivalent of the forms Gerhaert carved in stone, and it is likely that E.S. consciously imitated Gerhaert's plastic-spatial manner. The dissemination of E.S.'s prints led to the rapid and widespread acceptance of the new style and even influenced major figures such as Michael Pacher, Erasmus Grasser, Veit Stoss, and Tilmann Riemenschneider.[8] E.S. probably knew Gerhaert in Strassburg in the 1460's. Gerhaert is also documented at Constance in 1465-66, when he executed the high altar of Constance Cathedral. We have already stated that E.S. was also in Constance in those years.

Numerous scholars have tried to identify E.S. as a historical personality.[9] Because his work shows many traces of Flemish influence, the earliest researchers considered him lower Rhenish or Burgundian, and one scholar suggested that he was Egidius Steclin, a goldsmith of Valenciennes. Certainly, there are hints of Flemish style throughout E.S.'s oeuvre. By mid-century Flemish influence had found its way up the Rhine to Alsace and to Switzerland, and South German painting reflected in great measure the style of Roger van der Weyden and his followers. E.S. probably knew and was influenced by the paintings of artists such as Caspar Isenmann, the leading painter of Colmar in the 1450's and 1460's whose own work is strikingly Netherlandish.[10] E.S. was also apparently aware of pre-Eyckian painting, and his style often bears traces of the influence of Franco-Flemish book illumination. The Netherlandish quality in E.S.'s work is probably second hand, derived from German paintings influenced by Flemish art. There is no evidence that E.S. himself ever went to the Netherlands.

In 1911, Peter Albert, the archivist of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, found the name Endres Silbernagel in the records of the Freiburg Antonite Cloister.[11] Silbernagel is identified there as a painter and goldsmith from the town of Gmünden who died in Freiburg in 1503. Albert attempted to show that E.S. was this citizen of Freiburg. Finding the Silbernagel reference, Albert was sure that he had uncovered the identity of Master E.S. He made no attempt to explain why E.S. was inactive for thirty-five years, from 1467—the date of E.S.'s latest print—to 1503, the date of Silbernagel's death.

In 1948, W. Valentiner tried to revive the theory first propounded by Wurzbach in 1884,[12] that E.S. was Erwin von Stege, mintmaster to the Emperor Frederick III in Vienna.[13] Although this theory is intriguing it has not found general acceptance and was recently refuted.[14]

A few of the earliest works of Master E.S., *The Nativity* (L.22) and the *Tiburtine Sibyl* (L.192), are handled in the "optical" or painterly manner of the Master of the Playing Cards. The modeling in these rare engravings is accomplished with hundreds of burin strokes which create tonal areas. There is a concern for the texture and quality of surfaces. These early engravings differ so much from the main body of E.S.'s work that Passavant considered them to be the product of a distinct hand stylistically related to both the Playing Cards Master and E.S., a hypothetical artist whom he dubbed the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl.[15]

E.S. quickly moved out of this phase and developed a technique and style more suitable to his goldsmith's personality, a style which seeks to reconcile the depiction of solid form with the engraver's preference for flat, ornamental decoration.[16] The *St. Mark* (cat. no. 10) and the *Enthroned Madonna* (cat. no. 13) clearly display the dual nature of E.S.'s style, its sculptural character, achieved primarily through the use of voluminous, geometrical drapery folds, tempered and qualified by the engraver's urge to spread forms over the surface and to become involved with intricate decorative line. Throughout his *oeuvre*, E.S. shows a preference for flatness, but makes concessions to three-dimensional roundness when it is necessary to clarify the represented figures. Only in the prints which seem to be modeled after sculpture or which E.S. intended as models for sculptors is the three-dimensional structure of forms emphasized (see cat. no. 10).

E.S.'s greatest contribution to the history of engraving was his invention of cross-hatching and systematic burin work. He discovered a linear convention which grew naturally out of the movement of his engraving tool through the metal surface. E.S. lengthened the little strokelets of the earlier engravers and began to organize them into hatching systems. He realized that the burin could be pushed through the copper surface following the natural action of the arm muscles. In E.S.'s late engravings (cat. no. 13) there are still traces of the short strokes and "hyphens" of his early period. Some areas, however, are modeled with long systematic strokes combined in carefully controlled networks. This disciplined use of modeling lines which follow and emphasize the contours, paved the way for the later accomplishments of Martin Schongauer.

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1. *There are thirty-eight engravings by Israhel van Meckenem which are apparently copies after E.S. compositions which have themselves been lost. See also Hans Huth, "Ein verlorener Stich des Meisters E.S.,"* Festschrift Adolph Goldschmidt, *Berlin, 1933, pp. 74-76; Herbert L. Kessler, "A Lost Design by the Master E.S.,"* Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University, *XXII, 1963, pp. 8-14.*

2. *Max Lehrs,* Die Spielkarten des Meisters E.S., *Berlin, 1891, p. 8.*

3. *Ludwig Kämmerer, "Der Kupferstecher E.S. und die Heimat Seiner Kunst,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XVII, 1896, pp. 149-151.*

4. *W. Valentiner, "The Name of Master E.S.,"* Art Quarterly, *XI, 1948, pp. 218-249.*

5. *E. W. Hoffman, "Some Engravings Executed by the Master E.S. for the Benedictine Monastery at Einsiedeln,"* Art Bulletin, *XLIII, 1961, pp. 231-237.*

6. *See Lilli Fischel, "Werke und Name des Meisters von 1445,"* Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, *XIII, 1950, p. 107.*

7. *For the work of Gerhaert see O. Wertheimer,* Nicolaus Gerhaert, Seine Kunst und Seine Wirkung, *Berlin, 1929.*

8. *For the relationship of E.S. and Gerhaert and the role played by E.S. prints in establishing the new style see W. Pinder, "Zur Vermittlerrolle des Meisters E.S. in der deutschen Plastik,"* Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, *N.F.XXXII, 1921, pp. 129-32, 192-204; W. Pinder,* Die Deutsche Kunst der Dürerzeit, *Leipzig, 1940, pp. 73-82; Clemens Sommer, "Ein Werk aus der Passauer Zeit des Nikolaus Gerhaert von Leyden,"* Oberrheinische Kunst, *II, 1926/27, pp. 29-33; Lilli Fischel,* Nicolaus Gerhaert und die Bildhauer der deutschen Spätgotik, *Munich 1944, pp. 155-176; E. Hessig,* Die Kunst des Meisters E.S. und die Plastik der Spätgotik, *Berlin, 1935.*

9. *The various attempts to identify E.S. are reviewed in the Master E.S. exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia Museum of Art. 1967.*

10. *For Isenmann's work see G. Bergsträsser,* Caspar Isenmann, Ein Beitrag zur Oberrheinischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts, *Kolmar, 1941; A. Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *VII, Munich, 1955, pp. 12-15, pls. 13-17.*

11. *Peter P. Albert,* Der Meister E.S., Sein Name, Seine Heimat, und Sein Ende, *Strassburg, 1911, pp. 43-44, 57,* et passim.

12. *Alfred von Wurzbach, "Name und Herkunft des Meisters E.S. vom Jahre 1446,"* Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, *XIX, 1884, pp. 124-128; idem. "Das Österreichische Wappen in den Stichen des Meisters E.S.,"* Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, *XVII, 1896, pp. 1-12; idem.* Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon, *vol. III, Vienna, 1911, pp. 150-167. See also Wendelin Boeheim, "Ein Zeugenverhor über Erwein vom Stege und den Meister E.S. 1466,"* Chronik für vervielfältigende Kunst, *Vienna, 1891, p. 26.*

13. *Valentiner, "The Name of Master E.S.," pp. 218-49.*

14. See introduction to Master E.S. exhibition catalogue.

15. *J. D. Passavant,* Le Peintre-Graveur, *II, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 68-70.*

16. *For a chronological approach to E.S.'s prints see Max Geisberg,* Der Meister E.S., *2nd ed., Leipzig, 1924; and the Philadelphia Master E.S. exhibition catalogue, 1967.*

4

CHRIST BLESSING THE VIRGIN

Ca. 1450
Lehrs II.86.36, plate 61, no. 156
Diameter: 85 mm.

Provenance: E. A. Seasongood, New York, Lugt 907a; purchased from E. A. Seasongood Sale, Parke-Bernet, November, 1951, no. 261
B-20,217

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 85;
Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 33.

This small roundel portrays the moment of the Assumption of the Virgin when Mary is crowned and received into heaven by her Son. Her place on the throne at the right hand of Christ awaits her.

Christ's cape, which flows over the side of the throne and swings onto the ground in a great arc-shape, echoes the circular contour of the print, while the drapery of the Madonna spreads out along the margin, shaped to fit the roundel form. One of the transitional prints between E.S.'s earliest works and his middle phase, this engraving is similar in style to the *Nativity* (L.23). The drapery folds of the Virgin are identical to those of the Virgin of the *Nativity*, while her face is similar in type to the center figure in the group of adoring angels. The artist is beginning to use fine lines of hatching to emphasize the plastic character of drapery folds and to accent the corporeal form beneath.

Another roundel by E.S., the *Madonna and Child* (L.67), is so similar in size and treatment to this roundel that we can assume the two were originally conceived as pendants or as part of a series of the Life of the Virgin.

5

ST. PETER

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs II.168.100
95 x 61 mm.

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 162, November 5, 1929, no. 440; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2751

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 89; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 37; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 64

This print is one of a series of small engravings of the Twelve Apostles (Lehrs 100-111). The apostle's name, St. Petrus, appears on his halo, while a fluttering banderole contains the beginning of the Apostle's Creed in Latin: "Credo in deum patrem onipotent creatorem celi et terre" (I believe in God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth). The Apostle's Creed, or *Apostolicum*, is one of the earliest formulated confessions of faith and probably had developed into its present form by the year 400. The Apostles have been traditionally credited with authoring the Creed, and hence each Apostle is often represented in conjunction with a portion of the text.

The drapery here is similar to that of the enthroned Christ in the preceding example, especially in its flow of long, curving folds broken by an occasional abrupt right angle. Master E.S.'s desire to create plastic form is seen in the modeling strokes which follow the direction of the major contours, emphasizing both bulges and recesses, endowing the figure with a strong sculptural feeling. The three-dimensional effect is enhanced by the manner in which St. Peter's form is enveloped by his cloak as if it were an outer casing

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6

MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs 11.227.157, plate 65, no. 167
145 x 106 mm.

Provenance: R. Weigel, *Katalog der Sammlung Weber*, I, 1855, no. 6; Count Yorck von Wartenburg, Lugt 2667; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May, 1932, no. 58; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1939.
B-2748

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 86, pl. 37; Geisberg, *Der Meister E. S.*, p. 34; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 67; L. Fischel, "Le Maitre E. S. et ses Sources Strasbourgeoises," *Archives Alsaciennes*, XIV, 1935, pp. 187-189

St. Sebastian, who harbored a secret belief in Christ, was a bodyguard of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (245-313 A.D.). When Diocletian learned of Sebastian's faith in Jesus, he urged him to return to the worship of the old Roman gods. Sebastian refused, and it was ordered that he be shot to death with arrows. When the soldiers left the scene of the execution, it was discovered that Sebastian was still alive, and he was nursed back to health. Because of his intractable attitude and his refusal to deny his faith, Sebastian was later clubbed to death in the Roman arena. In the portrayal by E.S., one bowman is about to shoot an arrow into Sebastian's meager body, while a second man plucks an arrow from the stake to which Sebastian is bound. In the background, still another soldier with a cross-bow takes aim, while Diocletian, on the right, directs the activities.

This is a typical engraving of E.S.'s middle period. The scene is set in a barren, rocky locale. The horizon is high on the page and the forms spread out over the entire surface, as in a tapestry. The figures are described by deeply engraved contours which flow freely in graceful undulating curves. Within the deeply incised but supple contours, modeling is accomplished with short, light strokes.

One is reminded of the figures in Flemish paintings just after mid-century, especially the types of Dirk Bouts with their tight-fitting costumes and slippers with pointed toes. A comparison with Bouts's *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* in Louvain[1] reveals similar groupings of artificially posed figures and a similar treatment of space, with winding pathways strewn with rocks and pebbles. Bouts exercised tremendous influence on Rhenish art, and it is likely that E.S. was aware of the Flemish-influenced paintings by his German contemporaries in the Upper Rhine valley. What distinguishes E.S.'s style from the dignified, reticent style of Bouts is the charm and wit of E.S.'s narrative and the exaggerated gesturing of his figures, their mannered, dancing poses.

Lilli Fischel claims that this engraving is a copy of a lost painting by the Master of the Karlsruhe Passion, a Strassburg artist now identified as Hans Hirtz.[2] The Karlsruhe Master tends to produce scenes with high horizons, but with the main action occurring in the foreground plane. Fischel compares the *St. Sebastian* engraving with the Karlsruhe Master's *Bearing of the Cross*,[3] in its general arrangement and its use of little spherical trees and fortress-like buildings along the horizon line. The bowmen are also similar to the ugly types which populate the Karlsruhe Master's paintings. Fischel claims that even the curious puffy eyelids of St. Sebastian can be explained as a borrowing from this painter.

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[1] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *III*, *pl. XIII*, *fig. 8*.

[2] *Fischel*, *"Sources Strasbourgeoises,"* *pp. 187-89*.

[3] *Fischel*, Karlsruher Passion, *pl. 6*.

7

THE VISITATION

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs II.60.14, plate 66, no. 68
91 x 64 mm.
Paper slightly discolored

Provenance: Collection Meyer-Hildburghausen; Collection Clément, Paris; Count Yorck von Wartenburg, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May, 1932, no. 53; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1939
B-11,166

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 85; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 33; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 59

A unique surviving impression, this charming little engraving is typical of E.S.'s middle period. The two figures, swathed in drapery, stand in the immediate foreground of the characteristic E.S. countryside, crowded with rock formations, clumps of grass, and two species of stylized trees, the one in the center with its feathery foliage and the abbreviated spheres to the right of St. Elizabeth.

E.S. has fully understood the significance of his subject, the meeting of the Virgin, already with child, and her elder cousin Elizabeth, who is soon to give birth to St. John the Baptist. The scene is imbued with tenderness, and the subtle psychological relationship of the two women is admirably achieved. Mary's left hand lightly touches her cousin's veil, while Elizabeth gently takes Mary's right hand in her own, offering warm welcome to the Virgin, who modestly glances downward.

8

COAT OF ARMS OF THE PASSION

Ca. 1455-60
Lehrs II.265.189
168 x 116 mm.
Watermark: bunch of grapes (probably L.52)

Provenance: Clément Collection, Brussels; Count Yorck von Wartenburg, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May, 1932, no. 59; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1944
B-4653

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 91, pl. 40; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 40, pl. 33

This encyclopedia-like conglomeration of symbols contains a coat of arms displaying the instruments of the Passion. The shield rests on the back of the Lamb of God and is supported with the aid of the four evangelists' symbols: the ox of St. Luke, the lion of St. Mark, the angel of St. Matthew, and the eagle of St. John. The shield is surmounted by a helmet crowned with thorns and by the wounded hand of Christ in a gesture of blessing. Christ, with the banner of the Resurrection, stands to the left, the Virgin to the right. As if the space were not crowded enough, E.S. has added busts of two prophets with meandering banderoles which fill the top of the plate.

In this engraving, E.S. was probably designing not only an original devotional image but also a rich assemblage of symbols and forms which would provide a useful working sheet for other artisans. Any of the details could be extracted by other artists for a wide variety of purposes.

9

THE KNIGHT OF MEN

1463
Lehrs II.334.249
128 x 86 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Kornfeld and Klipstein, 1957
B-22,300

References: M. Lehrs, *The Playing Cards of Master E.S.*, p. 18, no 11, fig. 9; Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 93-95; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 42, pl. 37; M. Lehrs, "Zur Datierung der Kupferstiche des Meisters der Spielkarten," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Sammlungen*, IX, 1888, p. 240

Card games and playing cards, long enjoyed in the Orient, were probably first brought to Europe in the late middle ages by returning crusaders. In Germany, playing cards are first mentioned in the archives of Nuremberg between 1380 and 1384. The games grew in popularity in the fifteenth century and decks of cards printed from woodblocks were produced in great numbers. Only nine sets of cards were engraved, two of them by Master E.S.[1] The engravings were probably pasted onto cardboard before actually being used. Most fifteenth century decks consist of four or five suits, each composed of eight or nine numeral cards and three or four court cards. The suits had not yet become rigidly established, and in place of our clubs, spades, hearts, and diamonds one finds a great variety of plant and animal symbols. The cards by E.S. consist of four suits: men, dogs, birds, and shields. Aces are lacking, so the total deck contained four suits of only twelve cards each. Seven cards from E.S.'s set have not survived at all, while thirty are known in only one impression.

The knight is the predecessor of the jack in contemporary playing cards. E.S.'s knight is treated with reticence compared to the richly embellished figures in the cards of other artists. He belongs to the suit of men or acrobats, indicated by the figure in the upper right.

On the basis of the heraldry in the suit of shields, Ludwig Kämmerer has shown that E.S.'s playing cards were created in 1463.[2] The arrangement of the forms on this sheet with the emphasis on flat pattern, as well as the dry mechanical hatching of the earth indicate a date in E.S.'s late period, providing stylistic corroboration for Kämmerer's argument.

It appears that E.S.'s contemporaries regarded his playing cards no less than his other engravings as a source of motifs. Lehrs informs us that an exact copy of this playing card, lacking only the suit symbol in the upper right, is embossed on the leather binding of a bible in the university library at Erlangen (Incunab. no. 30), a book probably published at Strassburg in 1466.

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[1] *For a survey of German playing cards in the fifteenth century see Fritz Rumpf, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der frühen Spielkarten,"* Festschrift Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag, *Berlin, 1933, pp. 77-91. In English, Catherine Perry Hargrave's* A History of Playing Cards, *Boston and New York, 1930 (reprinted as a Dover paperback in 1966) is the only survey of the material.*

[2] *L. Kämmerer, "Der Meister E.S. und die Heimat seiner Kunst,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XVII, 1896, pp. 152-3. Kämmerer's arguments are summarized in English in the* Master E.S. Exhibition Catalogue, *1967, under cat. no. 53-4. The present author finds Kämmerer's argument convincing, though Lehrs challenged its validity in "Eine Wichtige Bereicherung des Dresdener Kupferstichkabinetts,"* Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, *LXII, 1928/29, pp. 3-6. The issue is further discussed by Lehrs and Otto Hupp in the* Kunstchronik *supplement appended to this volume of the* Zeitschrift *("Zwei Fragen," pp. 55-6).*

10

ST. MARK

Ca. 1460-65
Lehrs II.159.89
145 x 98 mm.
Watermark: Bunch of grapes (close to L.47)

Provenance: Princes of Liechtenstein, Vienna;
purchased from Richard Zinser, 1939
B-2747

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 91; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 40; *Master E.S. Exhibition*, cat. nos. 45-49

The close relationship of printmaking and sculpture in the fifteenth century has been discussed in the catalogue introduction. Many engravers took inspiration from contemporary sculpture and there are many engravings known to be based on altar carvings. In turn, the engravings served as models, as sources of motifs and compositions, for provincial artisans and sculptors. Many of E.S.'s prints have a distinct sculptural quality. This *St. Mark* resembles wood-carving so closely that we can assume it was either copied from a wood relief or was intended as a pattern for wood carvers. The drapery folds are large and geometrical. Planar areas are given great prominence and dark shadows and deep pockets of drapery are avoided. Cross-hatching is largely replaced by parallel, plane-filling modeling strokes, like those on the foremost segment of drapery. The earth is flat and textureless, described only by little engraved hyphens. The handling is relatively dry and there is an arbitrary correctness in the way lines are laid down, giving the figure a hardness which suggests wood sculpture. The human form is only minimally corporeal and merges to some degree with the picture plane, like shallow carving.

Although we can adduce no examples of carved copies after this engraving,[1] there is one notable engraved copy which must be mentioned. The *Evangelist* engravings of E.S. found their way to Italy where they were literally, if somewhat stiffly copied by the engraver of the famous series of *Prophets* and *Sibyls*.[2] St. Mark was transformed by the Italian into the *Delphian Sibyl*.[3] According to Hind, the Sibyls were engraved in Florence about 1470.

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[1] *The drapery folds of Michael Pacher's and Tilmann Riemenschneider's carved figures resemble closely those of figures in E.S. engravings. Cf. Riemenschneider's* St. Anne *in Munich (Th. Müller;* Die Bildwerke in Holz, Ton, und Stein; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, *Munich, 1959, no. 133, p. 145.)*

[2] *Arthur M. Hind,* Early Italian Engraving, *I, London, 1938, pp. 153-161.*

[3] *Hind C.II.3,A; Reproduced in Hind,* Early Italian Engraving, *III, pl. 246.*

11

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Ca. 1460-65
Lehrs II.72.25, plate 77, no. 197
127 x 80 mm.

Provenance: Maltzan Collection, Militsch; purchased
from William Schab, 1949
B-15,789

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 95; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 44, pl. 32

Master E.S. sets the scene of the *Adoration* in a frame structure with brick walls, similar to the stable in his *Nativity* (L.23). This kind of incomplete building is often a reference to the house of David, which is said to have crumbled or fallen apart at the time of Christ's birth. The Romanesque window in the right wall reinforces this symbolism. It is a deliberate allusion to an archaic architectural style, suggesting that the house of Christ's ancestry belongs to an old and outmoded order. The dividing column in the window may be an allusion to the Flagellation. A charming detail is Joseph, who carefully stows away the gifts of the Magi in a large chest.

The large drapery folds of the Madonna, modeled with long strokes which break into little hyphens as they move out of the shadow into the light, are typical of E.S.'s late period. The facial types of Joseph and the Magi are similar to those in E.S.'s *Large Einsiedeln Madonna* (L.81), dated 1466. Thus, a date for this engraving in the 1460's seems certain.

Three other E.S. engravings, the *Annunciation* (L.9), the *Visitation* (L.16), and the *Nativity* (L.20) are very similar in size and treatment to our *Adoration* and were all probably part of a series of the Life of the Virgin.

12

THE KNIGHT AND LADY

Ca. 1460-65
Lehrs II.300.212
138 x 113 mm.

Provenance: Sternberg-Manderscheid Collection; Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2749

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 109, pl. 61; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 58, pl. 62; *Master E.S. Exhibition*, no. 58

The vast majority of fifteenth-century engravings treat religious subjects, especially the biblical and apocryphal narratives and the legends of the saints. E.S. was one of the first engravers in whose *oeuvre* secular subjects appear with some frequency. He was especially fond of the theme of lovers or amorous couples. It is impossible to know with certainty for what function an engraving such as this *Knight and Lady* was intended. It may have been a model for marriage portraiture or may illustrate some aspect of the chivalric code which is no longer remembered. W. R. Valentiner claimed that the E.S. prints of this type are evidence that E.S. lived in a worldly, patrician milieu.[1]

This is one of E.S.'s most carefully structured and most successful compositions. The two figures, solid and weighty, are firmly planted on the ground, which is itself explicitly defined by the horizontal ridge of earth which crosses the bottom of the sheet. The knight's leg intersects his shield diagonally, echoing the large X-shape created by the two figures and the lines of their drapery. The compositional symmetry is enhanced by the directions of the two gazes which meet, so to speak, just above the compositional center, the point at which the knight's hand grasps the lady's gown. The lance held by the woman is almost parallel to the knight's left leg, providing enough variation to prevent the composition from being rigidly symmetrical.

This print dates from E.S.'s late period. The fairly stiff drapery folds and the dry, systematic hatching on the earth and drapery are characteristic of his engravings of the early 1460's. E.S. used a round goldsmith's punch to create the texture of the lady's fluttering veil and to ornament the border of the shield.

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[1] *W. R. Valentiner, "The Name of the Master E.S.,"* Art Quarterly, *XI, 1948, p. 223.*

13

MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED

Ca. 1466
Lehrs II.151.82
211 x 137 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with staff and star

Provenance: Albertina duplicate; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2745

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 103, pl. 52; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 53, pl. 51

One of the major works of the artist's late period, this engraving is closely related to E.S.'s most famous print, the large *Einsiedeln Madonna* (L.81), dated 1466. The Madonna holds a scepter rather than a lily, but is identical in every other way to the Virgin in the Einsiedeln print. The child, too, assumes the same dancing posture in both engravings. Two angels minister to the Virgin and Child; the one on the right is about to place a crown on Christ's head. The throne is an elaborate late-gothic construction, decorated with ornate leaves, foliated finials, and figures of old men holding scrolls. These figures represent Old Testament prophets who foretold the coming of the Saviour. The throne itself recalls those found in manuscript illuminations of the Franco-Flemish school,[1] evidence that E.S. knew and imitated miniature painting of the international style.

Two diverse qualities which appeared in E.S.'s earlier work are reconciled here to some degree. Rich ornament and monumental form merge, effecting a balance between the pattern quality of the brocade and the sculptural quality of the large polygonal drapery folds which have an abstract life, independent of the forms they cloak.

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[1] *Cf. King David from the* Psalter of the Duc de Berry *(Bibliothèque Nationale: Ms. fr. 13091), reproduced in Panofsky,* Early Netherlandish Painting, *fig. 26.*

14

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH A BIRD

Ca. 1465-67
Lehrs II.130.70
Diameter: 108 mm.
Watermark: Mountain with high cross (not in Briquet)
Provenance: Maltzan Collection, Militsch; purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-22,301

References: M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XII, 1889, pp. 273-4; Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 16[illegible], pl. 63; Geisberg "Teigdruck und Metallschnitt," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* V, 1912, p. 230; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, pp. 55, 64, pl. 58; Geisberg, *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S.*, pl. 58; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 180; R. A. Koch and Clemens Sommer, "A Mother-of-Pearl Carving after the Master E.S.," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, V, 1942, pp. 122-24

This is the only known white-line engraving of the fifteenth century. It anticipates by some thirty years the origins of the chiaroscuro woodcut, which probably had the same goal, namely, reproducing the effect of drawings executed on tinted paper, heightened with white. Lehrs and Geisberg thought that this engraving was made by inking the copper plate with white ink and printing it in the normal way upon prepared black paper. Close inspection of the surface of the paper, however, has persuaded the present writer that the black was printed and not brushed onto the sheet. After being engraved in the conventional manner, the surface of the plate was probably inked for relief printing, leaving the engraved furrows clear. Thus, when the plate was printed the ground was colored black and the uninked engraved lines created a positive white-line image. It is also likely that at this point the engraver pulled a counterproof in which the black necessarily appeared flatter and the lines became fuzzier and less distinct than they were in the original impression.[1] The obvious goal was to have the print appear as much as possible like a drawing. To further enhance this effect, parts of the image were then heightened with a pen. Upon examination we find two different whites, the brownish white of the paper and the purer white of the ink applied by pen. In the nineteenth century all four impressions of this engraving known to Lehrs were filed in their respective collections with the drawings rather than the prints. This particular impression was discovered in 1881 among the drawings of Count Maltzan zu Militsch in eastern Germany.

Clemens Sommer has made the interesting suggestion that this engraving was intended as a model for carvers in mother-of-pearl,[2] a medium in which light is reflected from deep within the substance, creating lustrous forms similar to those in drawings on toned paper heightened with white. Mother-of-pearl was extensively used for carving small reliefs in southwest Germany in the time of Master E.S.[3]

The flat, broad shapes of the drapery folds and the close relationship of the Madonna to the Madonna of Einsiedeln (L.81) justify a late date for this engraving, somewhere between 1465 and 1467.

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[1] For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. Fred Cain, whose experiments in relief printing from intaglio plates confirm my hypothesis about E.S.'s method.

[2] Koch and Sommer, "A Mother of Pearl Carving," pp. 122-24.

[3] See Gustav Pazaurek, Perlmutter, *Berlin, 1937, pp. 19-30. Pazaurek shows that E.S. prints often served as models for mother-of-pearl carvers.*

15

THE LETTER "K"

Ca. 1466-1467
Lehrs II.363.292
144 x 110 mm.

Provenance: W. Esdaile, London, Lugt 2617; G. W. (unidentified stamp, possibly Lugt 1226); K (unidentified stamp, Lugt 1626); purchased from Richard Zinser, 1940.
B-2750

References: Betty Kurth, "Ein gotisches Figurenalphabet aus dem Ende des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der Meister E.S.," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst*, No. 3, 1912, p. 57, pl. 12; Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 108; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 56; Maria Hirsch, "Das Figurenalphabet des Meisters E.S.," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II, 1933, p. 109, pl. 12a; W. Bühler, *Kupferstichalphabet des Meisters E.S.*, Strassburg, 1934 (volume 301 of Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte), p. 15; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 71

Among Master E.S.'s late engravings is a set of twenty-three fanciful letters forming a complete alphabet in gothic minuscule.[1] These letters are composed of interlocked human beings, animals, or monsters. Although no one is sure today what purpose was served by such alphabet series,[2] they were probably intended as a source of ideas for other artisans or illuminators. They may have been meant only as bizarre compilations of strange, incongruous figure groups, highly inventive and unusual in design and intended solely to amuse the eye.

Wilhelm Bühler, who believed that E.S. lived into the sixteenth century, saw the E.S. series as a set of propaganda sheets chronicling the activities of the Emperor Maximilian in the 1490's. According to Bühler, the alphabet satirizes the events of the Swiss War.[3] Bühler claimed for example that the letter K, with the figure in the upper right striking his cudgel against the larger fellow's shield as though it were a gong, was a sort of recruiting poster, a summons to arms.[4] He related the print to the Emperor's attempt to recruit troops in Ulm following his defeat at Dornach in July, 1499. Bühler's theories are totally discounted by those scholars who accept 1467 as the date of E.S.'s death.

Lehrs believed that the E.S. alphabet series was entirely the fanciful invention of the engraver, and claimed that a similar manuscript alphabet in the Biblioteca Civica in Bergamo was copied from the E.S. engravings.[5] Betty Kurth has firmly contradicted this notion, proving on the basis of costume and style that the Bergamo alphabet dates from about 1420. She claims that both the Bergamo and E.S. alphabets were based on a common prototype, probably a lost German manuscript of the fourteenth century.[6] The lost prototype may also have been the source of a Netherlandish woodcut alphabet of 1464.[7] The Bavarian National Museum in Munich possesses the tombstone of Wilhelm I von Thannhausen dated 1452. It bears an inscription including an initial letter "a" which is strikingly similar to the "a" in the E.S. alphabet. This led Jaro Springer to conclude that the E.S. alphabet engravings were executed prior to 1452,[8] since he assumed that the tombstone carver copied the E.S. engraving. It is clear now from the Kurth scholarship that grotesque alphabets existed in fifteenth-century German art for several generations prior to E.S., and it is possible that E.S. and the Thannhausen sculptor used the same model.

Our date of 1466-67 for the alphabet prints is in full accord with Lehrs.[9] Of the surviving sheets of the alphabet, no fewer than forty have the watermark which appears with regularity on the dated late prints, the bear with a staff and star. Our dating is further supported by the artist's use of a star-shaped punch which decorates the shield in the letter K. This punch appears only in E.S. prints of the very last years, notably in three dated 1467; the *Half-Length Christ* (L.56), the *Sudarium* (L.190), and the *St. Michael* (L.154).

The banner waving from the spear of the tallest wild man is probably that of the Margrave of Baden.

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[1] *A complete set (Lehrs 283-305) is preserved only in the Munich print room. For a paleographic analysis of the letters see M. Hirsch, "Das Figurenalphabet des Meisters E.S.,"* Kunstwissentschaftliche Forschungen, *II, 1933, pp. 101-112.*

[2] *For discussion of gothic alphabets in general see Jaro Springer,* Gothic Alphabets, *London, 1897; L. Kämmerer, "Ein Spätgotisches Figurenalphabet im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XVIII, 1897, pp. 216-222; Max Lehrs, "Über gotische Alphabete,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XXII, 1899, pp. 371-378.*

[3] *W. Bühler,* Kupferstichalphabet des Meisters E.S., *Strassburg, 1934, p. 9.*

[4] *W. Bühler,* Kupferstichalphabet, *p. 15.*

[5] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *II, p. 377. The Bergamo alphabet is reproduced in Betty Kurth, "Ein gotisches Figurenalphabet aus dem Ende des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der Meister E.S.,"* Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, *no. 3, 1912, pp. 46-49.*

[6] *B. Kurth, "Ein gotisches Figurenalphabet," pp. 45-60.*

[7] *Campbell Dodgson,* Grotesque Alphabet of 1464, *London, 1899.*

[8] *J. Springer,* Gothic Alphabets, *pp. 4-5.*

[9] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *II, p. 373.*

16

CHRIST AS SAVIOUR

Ca. 1467
Lehrs II.116.57, second state
154 x 112 mm.

Provenance: Gutekunst und Klipstein, Bern, Auction 76, March 11, 1954, no. 145; purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-22,290

References: Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 110, pl. 62; Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S.*, p. 59, pl. 61; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, pl. 45

This devotional engraving, among E.S.'s very last works, is the only one in the National Gallery collection which actually bears the master's monogram. Christ appears in a window decorated with late gothic ornament and two music-making angels. In one hand He holds the orb, symbolic of the world, while He raises the other hand in benediction. His cloak is held by two clasps on which we see the angel and Madonna of the Annunciation.

Christ is placed so close to the plane of the picture and stares out so hypnotically that this engraving must have made a powerful and immediate claim on the late medieval worshipper. There is almost no boundary between the world of the engraving and our own. E.S. falls back on gothic conventions for the treatment of eyes, hair, and beard, but humanizes the otherwise stylized face by knitting up the brow and tilting the head.

The thin dense hatching is the result of the reworking of the plate by Israhel van Meckenem. Meckenem acquired forty-one of E.S.'s worn copper plates on which he deepened the lines in order to produce new editions of the engravings. In this print we can see several changes wrought by Meckenem's burin work. The mouth, for example, has become smaller and more puckered. The faint outlines of the lips done by E.S. are still visible around those engraved by Meckenem. At one spot, where the drapery falls over the sill, Meckenem neglected to restore the broken, unconnected contours.

17

ORNAMENT WITH WILD FOLK

Ca. 1460-65
Undescribed
93 x 68 mm.

Provenance: Dukes of Arenberg, Lugt 567; purchased from Jacob Hirsch, 1938
B-8316

References: Master E.S. Exhibition, cat. no. 63

This unique ornament print, unknown to Lehrs, has much in common with E.S. prints of the 1460's. The leaf and blossom types resemble those which decorate the interstices of the E.S. platter design of 1461, *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (L.149). The hatching in the petals is accomplished with the same long parallel strokes. The little figures of hairy wild men are similar to the wild man in the E.S. *Leaf Ornament* (L.312), though they are neither as well drawn, nor is the texture of the hair as subtly indicated. The curling leaves also lack the energetic springiness and animation of E.S. ornament. Hence, we can assume that we are dealing with the work of a Rhenish artisan strongly influenced by E.S. but lacking his élan.

18

CHRIST AS THE MAN OF SORROWS

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs IV.232.26
Diameter: 30 mm.
Gold ground and red, blue, green, violet, yellow and flesh tones brushed on after printing.

Provenance: Purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1937
B-3301

References: T. O. Weigel and A. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*, II, Leipzig, 1866, p. 403; *Master E.S. Exhibition*, cat. no. 81

Weigel and Zestermann erroneously considered this tiny engraving to be a niello, a little goldsmith's decoration not intended for printing. The monogram of Jesus (*Ihs*) and the i.n.r.i. panel read correctly from left to right, however, proving that the engraver did indeed anticipate the reversal of the printing process. Lehrs, who knew only one impression of this engraving in the British Museum, listed it as anonymous South German work. The print is so close in size and style to the E.S. series of roundel patterns (L.193-201) that we feel justified in attributing it to the school of Master E.S. The facial type corresponds exactly to the type of Christ and of St. James the Less in the E.S. *Saviour Enthroned with the Twelve Apostles* (L.137). Christ's elbows come to a decided point as do those of E.S.'s *Man of Sorrows* (L.55). The awkward proportions and stiff drawing of the figure as well as the random quality of the stippled hatching serving no illusionistic function prevent our attributing the print to the master's own hand.

The coloring and the gold ground indicate that this engraving was intended to be pasted into a manuscript or printed book as a substitute for a miniature painting. The only other known impression in the British Museum is colored in exactly the same manner, suggesting that the entire edition of the engraving was intended for use as "book illumination."

19

ST. MICHAEL

Ca. 1460-70
Lehrs IV.261.68
71 x 49 mm.

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue 20, 1929, no. 39; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-3932

References: T. O. Weigel and A. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*, II, Leipzig, 1866, p. 393; W. Schmidt, *Die Inkunabeln des Kupferstichs im Kgl. Kabinet zu München*, Munich, 1887, no. 20; Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVI, 1893, p. 315; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 78b

Schmidt ascribed this inept engraving to the Master of St. Erasmus, an attribution correctly contradicted by Lehrs in 1893. The print is most likely of South German origin and might well be a copy of a lost work by Master E.S., perhaps a variation of E.S.'s *St. Michael* (L.152). Comparison of this engraving with E.S.'s *St. Michael*[1] reveals a similar treatment of costume and similar conventions in the handling of hair and drapery. In both our print and the E.S. the saint wears a stole which crisscrosses his breast. He also wears a long tunic which drapes onto the ground over the prostrate body of the devil. In both engravings, too, the scene occurs in a barren, abstract locale, characteristic of Master E.S.

The copyist's lack of skill is too obvious to require much comment. Suffice it to point out the awkward, irregular modeling on the figures and on the earth at the right, as well as the primitive quality of the drapery folds which are totally unrelated to an articulated human form.

Of the four surviving impressions of this engraving, this is the only one which has not been trimmed inside the plate mark.

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1. *Reproduced in Geisberg,* Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S., *pl. 110.*

MASTER OF THE BERLIN PASSION

Active ca. 1450-70

The name of this master was first coined by Lehrs in 1889[1] because seven of the master's Passion engravings had been found in a Lower Rhenish prayer book in the Berlin print room. The name "Master of the Berlin Passion" was a most unfortunate choice, however, since it has led to the confusion of this master with the Master of 1446, of whose passion series only seven unique sheets remain, all preserved in the Berlin print room.[2]

Lehrs was the first to try to assemble the engravings of the Berlin Passion Master. In 1900, Lehrs attributed 115 engravings to this hand and located the artist in the Lower Rhine region, pointing out the similarity of his drawing style to that of the Westphalian Israhel van Meckenem.[3] He showed also that the dialect which appears on two of the master's prints (L.24, 65) is east Netherlandish,[4] indicating the region around Arnheim, Nijmwegen, and Bocholt. The dialect on the engravings corresponds perfectly with that of the manuscript book in Berlin in which seven of the master's prints are pasted. It is now believed that the Berlin manuscript was produced in a convent of the Sisters of the Common Life at Arnheim. Most of the master's other engravings were discovered pasted or inserted in books produced in Cologne, giving further evidence of his northwest German origin.

In 1903, Max Geisberg showed that the stylistic affinities linking the Master of the Berlin Passion and Israhel van Meckenem were more than coincidental and he proposed that the anonymous master was none other than the father of Meckenem, a goldsmith by the same name.[5] It had been thought traditionally in Bocholt, a town only fifty kilometers from Arnheim and Nijmwegen, that two goldsmiths named Israhel van Meckenem had lived there in the fifteenth century. On the basis of some astute archival research and through the stylistic comparison of the late works of the Berlin Passion Master and the youthful work of Meckenem, Geisberg was able to demonstrate the validity of the Bocholt legend. This effectively removed the Master of the Berlin Passion from among the anonymous personalities, identifying him as a specific historical individual, Israhel van Meckenem the Elder. The connection between the Master of the Berlin Passion and Meckenem was secured by Geisberg's observation that both artists signed a number of their prints with an identical housemark or hallmark, a so-called caltrop with a small horizontal cross-stroke: . The guild's laws for the use of hallmarks stated that only the eldest son of a master goldsmith could adopt his father's mark.

The Meckenem family appears to have taken its name from the city of Meckenheim near Bonn, and is mentioned in the archives of Bonn as early as 1409. The first archival reference to the elder Israhel van Meckenem (the Master of the Berlin Passion) is found in documents from Bocholt dated 1457.[6] In 1458-59 he received a salary from the town and appears to have been appointed as municipal goldsmith. In 1464 he appears in Bonn to supervise the sale of a house belonging to himself and his sister, but he was apparently back in Bocholt by 1465. It is recorded that he was commissioned by a Bocholt lady in 1465 to make a chalice for an altar she had endowed. The latest date at which we hear of Israhel the Elder is 1470, when he made a monstrance for the Bocholt parish church.

The Master of the Berlin Passion—still referred to by that name despite universal agreement that he was the elder Meckenem—was a contemporary of Master E.S., although his burin style is more closely related to that of the Master of the Playing Cards. His contours are strong and sure, if somewhat choppy and angular, while his interior modeling is extremely delicate, scarcely scratched into the plate. In good early impressions, the modeling gives the appearance of washed-in tones. A comparison of the *St. Peter* (cat. no. 20) with the St. Peter by Master E.S. (cat. no. 5), from a similar series of small engravings of the Apostles, points up the more provincial qualities and the more primitive manner of drawing of the Master of the Berlin Passion. Compared to the slender proportions of the E.S. figure, the *St. Peter* of the Master of the Berlin Passion appears somewhat squat. The chiseled folds of the weighty drapery reinforce the blocky character of the figure. Next to the linear fluency of E.S., the drawing of the Passion Master appears stiff and hesitant, and one feels that he pushed his burin through the copper surface with great effort. His training as a goldsmith reveals itself in the ornamental stylization of the hair, the patterning of the floor, and the filling of the space with an elaborate banderole.

One-hundred-seventeen engravings are now attributed to this master, all of which are reproduced in the Hollstein catalogue.[7] Most are small in format and many have been hand-colored, suggesting that they were intended to be pasted in books to serve as substitutes for miniature painting.

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1. *M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen,* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XII, 1889, p. 34.*

2. *André Girodie* (Martin Schongauer et l'art du Haut-Rhin au XVᵉ siècle, *Paris, 1911, p. 83) refers to the Master of the Berlin Passion's ornament print (L.115) as the work of the*

Master of 1446. Ignaz Beth, in Die Baumzeichnung in der deutschen Graphik, *Strassburg, 1910, p. 34, lumps the two engravers together as though both were one. The same error is made by Carl O. Schniewind in* The First Century of Printmaking, *p. 63.*

[3] *M. Lehrs, "Der Meister der Berliner Passion,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XXI, 1900, p. 136.*

[4] *Lehrs, "Meister der Berliner Passion," p. 142.*

[5] *M. Geisberg,* Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem, *Strassburg, 1903.*

[6] *Geisberg summarizes his earlier publications and outlines the documentation on the Master of the Berlin Passion in "Israhel van Meckenem,"* Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVII, 1930, pp. 213-220.*

[7] *F. W. H. Hollstein,* Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, *XII, pp. 79-113.*

20

ST. PETER

Ca. 1465
Lehrs III.95.46
77 x 59 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5d; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 178, May 3, 1932, no. 28; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1937
B-8315

References: M. Lehrs, "Der Meister der Berliner Passion," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* XXI, 1900, p. 149, ill. opp. p. 148; M. Geisberg, *Die Anfänge,* p. 81, pl. 68; *The First Century of Printmaking,* no. 55a; E. M. Hajos, "Drei Etats der Apostelfolge des Meisters der Berliner Passion," *Belvedere,* VIII, (Forum) 1925, pp. 8-12; Hollstein, XII, p. 92

This engraving and the following one are part of a series of thirteen prints of Christ and the Apostles. It is very similar in format and iconography to the series by Master E.S. (cf. cat. no. 5). As in the E.S. engravings, a portion of the Apostle's Creed is attributed to each figure, and the text appears on a banderole which twists its way through the space. Here, St. Peter is credited with the beginning of the Creed, "Credo in deum patrem onipotent creatorem celi et terre."

The fine "gossamer" hatching which suggests subtle tonal variation and enhances the corporeality of the figure is characteristic of the Master of the Berlin Passion. Also characteristic is the short, almost midget-like figure of St. Peter. The small head is set off by an oval halo, and the hair and beard have an artificial, wig-like appearance, each ringlet ending in the shape of a snail shell. The eyes appear to be half closed and the mouth turns down at the corners, giving the face a slightly peevish expression.

Only three impressions of this engraving are known. E. M. Hajos has perceived that each of the three surviving examples represents a distinct state.[1] The first state, in Vienna, has clear and precise contours. Our example, formerly in Vienna, is the second state. The hatching is slightly retouched and the contours somewhat coarsened by reworking. In the third state, preserved in Berlin,[2] the fine modeling is quite worn away, especially in the face, and the plate is further reworked. Some new diagonal strokes are added on the patterned floor in the foremost row of squares.

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[1] *E. M. Hajos, "Drei Etats," pp. 8-12.*

[2] *Reproduced in Geisberg,* Die Anfänge, *pl. 68; and in Hollstein, XII, p. 92.*

21

ST. JAMES THE GREATER

Ca. 1465
Lehrs III.96.48
80 x 59 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5d; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 178, May 3, 1932, no. 29; purchased from Jacob Hirsch, 1938
B-8314

From the same series as the preceding engraving, this sheet also represents the second of the three known states.[1] The text on the banderole is a continuation of the Apostle's Creed: "Qui conseptus est de spirito sancto nati ex maria virgine" (Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary).

St. James is identified by his pilgrim's attire and the scallop shell which adorns his broad-brimmed hat, allusions to the countless pilgrimages made to his shrine at Compostella in Spain in the later middle ages.

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[1] *E. M. Hajos, "Drei Etats," pp. 8-12.*

22

THE TRINITY

Ca. 1465
Lehrs III.114.77, first state
78 x 60 mm. (border)
102 x 80 mm. (sheet)

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1946
B-13,646

References: M. Lehrs, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion*, pp. 138, 148; M. Geisberg, *Verzeichnis der Kupferstiche Israhels van Meckenem*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 261; Hollstein, XII, p. 103

This devotional engraving of the *Trinity* is close in its delicate burin technique and chiseled drapery style to the series of the Apostles and, according to Lehrs, was probably done toward the end of the master's career. God the Father has the oblong halo characteristic of the Master of the Berlin Passion. His eyes are half shut and His mouth drawn down at the corners, giving Him much the same sullen expression as the St. Peter (cat. no. 20). He points to His Son, whom He supports with His left hand as He utters the words found on the banderole at the upper left, "ppo filio non peperci" (I have not spared my own son). The Holy Ghost hovers over the sagging body of Christ who shows His wound with one hand while He holds the whip and scourge of the Flagellation in the other. The column of the Flagellation stands at the right, while the crucifix lies on the floor.

MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

Active ca. 1450-70

In 1886 Lehrs suggested that a large group of anonymous engravings could be grouped together as the work of a single master. He named the artist the Master of St. Erasmus after the subject engraved on a copper plate in the museum in Nuremberg, the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.[1] It appeared to Lehrs that the author of the copper plate was also the creator of the group of anonymous engravings. Because of his stylistic and technical relation to the Master of the Berlin Passion, it was concluded that the Erasmus Master worked in Westphalia or the Lower Rhine region shortly before 1460. In subsequent publications,[2] Lehrs increased the number of attributions to the Erasmus Master to more than 400. Several of these prints are copies of Master E.S. engravings dated 1467, so it has been assumed that the Erasmus Master was active until at least the late 1460's.

In several later publications, Geisberg expressed agreement with Lehrs's Lower Rhenish location and his approximate dating of the corpus of Erasmus Master prints. Geisberg, however, distinguished five different hands among the 400-odd engravings.[3] He considerably reduced the number attributed to the Erasmus Master himself, while creating out of the remaining prints three other masters: The Master with the Flower Borders, the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives, and the Master of the Martyrdom of the Ten-Thousand. Geisberg also gave a few of the Erasmus Master's prints to the youthful Israhel van Meckenem. In 1924, Geisberg decided that all of the prints he had divided between the Master of St. Erasmus and the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives were in fact the product of only one hand, and he suggested that the Erasmus Master's name be completely dropped and all prints formerly given to either master thenceforth be attributed to the Dutuit Master alone.[4] We are retaining the name Master of St. Erasmus only because our prints appear in the Lehrs catalogue under that category.

Geisberg's three masters are scarcely differentiated one from the next, and it is almost impossible to understand on what basis he separated the work of the Dutuit Master from, say, the Master of the Martyrdom. These works are so similar that they surely stem from one and the same Lower Rhenish workshop. They are all quite primitive in style and betray a total lack of understanding of human anatomy. Faces and hands are reduced to a stereotyped formula of burin strokes and the drapery is thoroughly conventionalized. Considering the stiffness of the drawing, it is noteworthy that these engravers employ systematic cross-hatching quite successfully to suggest shadow in the concavities of the drapery folds.

Most of the engravings by the Erasmus Master and his *Doppelgänger* are small in format and have been hand colored, indicating that they were meant to be pasted into manuscripts as substitutes for painted illumination. The Master with the Flower Borders actually engraved a frame of flowers around many of his scenes, imitative of the decorative rinceaux of contemporary manuscript illumination.

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[1] *M. Lehrs,* Der Meister mit den Bandrollen, *Dresden, 1886, pp. 16-18.*

[2] *The additional attributions to the Master of St. Erasmus appeared in the following issues of the* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft: *XI, 1888, pp. 213ff; XII, 1889, pp. 251-72; XIII, 1890, pp. 52-54; XIV, 1891, pp. 12-14, 104, 110; XV, 1892, pp. 135, 488-90; XVI, 1893, pp. 49, 310, 314; XVII, 1894, p. 354ff.*

[3] *M. Geisberg,* Die Anfänge, *pp. 119-121; M. Geisberg,* Kupferstiche der Frühzeit, *pp. 51ff.*

[4] *M. Geisberg,* Der Meister E.S., *pp. 65-68.*

23

CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs III. 240.7
58 x 37 mm.
B-8313

24

THE LAST JUDGMENT

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs III. 267.76
58 x 37 mm.
B-8312

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 165, May 6-9, 1930, no. 889; purchased from Dr. F. J. Heilbroner, 1938

References: Weigel und Zestermann, II, p. 346, no. 418; *The First Century of Printmaking,* no. 72a-b

These two small engravings, printed from separate plates on the same sheet of paper, belong to a set of 78 prints illustrating scenes from the life of Christ. They were attributed to the Master of St. Erasmus by Lehrs in 1889,[1] but were given by Geisberg to the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives in 1923.[2] These two masters were probably workshop colleagues if they were not one and the same personality, as Geisberg eventually concluded.[3]

It is clear that the didactic aspect concerned this engraver almost to the exclusion of aesthetic considerations, and we are reminded of contemporary woodcuts, intended for a largely unsophisticated public audience. Despite the tiny format, all of the essential symbols are present to make the narrative lucid and easily comprehended. In the *Entry,* the Apostles follow behind as Christ, mounted on a donkey, approaches the gates of Jerusalem. The way is prepared by a figure who spreads his cloak on the ground. Christ's gesture of benediction is made prominent by the enormous size of his hand.

In the *Last Judgment,* Christ is seated on a rainbow while he uses a second rainbow as a footrest (*Revelation* 4:2-3). The sword projecting from his left cheek accords with John's description of the word of God: ". . . from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword" (*Revelation* 1:16; see also *Hebrews* 4:12). To counterbalance the sword, a branch of lilies, somewhat stylized in the manner of a *fleur-de-lis,* is shown projecting from his other cheek. The lilies refer to the innocent, or the elect, while the sword symbolizes the punishment of the damned. On Christ's left, St. John the Baptist intercedes for souls of the Old Testament while the Virgin, on His right, intercedes for New Testament souls. Below, the graves yield up their dead in order that they may be judged (*Daniel* 12:2).

Characteristic of the Erasmus Master's style —or, if you will, the style of the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives—are the stiff, angular facial types. Noses, composed of three abrupt burin strokes, come to a sharp point. A tiny stroke connects the nose to the mouth which turns down sharply at the corners. Eyebrows and eyelids are rounded, with the pupils indicated by heavy vertical lines, creating a cat-like effect. Hands and feet are reduced to cursory linear abbreviations. The modeling, however, is handled with some finesse; long strokes cross each other at steep angles suggesting soft shadows in the concavities of the drapery folds.

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[1] *M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XII, 1889, p. 34.*

[2] *Geisberg,* Kupferstiche der Frühzeit, *p. 55.*

[3] *Geisberg,* Der Meister E.S., *pp. 65-67.*

MASTER OF THE DUTUIT MT. OF OLIVES
Active ca. 1450-70

This master takes his name from a unique print formerly in the collection of Eugène Dutuit of Rouen, a distinguished nineteenth-century print connoisseur and collector. Geisberg assembled the ostensible works of this master from among the large body of prints Lehrs had earlier attributed to the Master of St. Erasmus.[1] It is now thought that the two "masters" really represent a single Lower Rhenish hand, that of a minor craftsman whose main function was the mass production of small engravings suitable for pasting into breviaries. An inscription on one of the Dutuit Master's prints in the dialect of the region around Düsseldorf confirms his location in northwest Germany. Among his engravings are several copies after Master E.S., including the E.S. playing cards which are firmly dated 1463 (see cat. no. 9). We can thus assume that the Dutuit Master was still active in the 1460's.

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[1] *See discussion under the Master of St. Erasmus.*

25
CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1460
Undescribed, unique
72 x 48 (border)
Hand colored blue, maroon, green, red, olive, flesh

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue 10, 1927, no. 196; Catalogue 14, 1928, no. 173; Catalogue 22, 1930, no. 220; purchased from Alden Gallery, Kansas City, Missouri, 1940
B-8282

This engraving is almost identical to two Crucifixions described by Lehrs, one of which he attributes to the Master of St. Erasmus (Lehrs III. 237.1) and the other to the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives (Lehrs III. 290.5). The crude figure and facial types, the awkward drawing of hands and feet, as well as the restrained and systematic use of cross-hatching, closely relate this print to those by the Master of St. Erasmus discussed above (cat. nos. 23,24).

The coloring and the decorative border were added by hand after printing.

26
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Ca. 1460
Undescribed, unique
60 x 41 mm.
Hand colored red, green, yellow, olive

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue 10, 1927, no. 197; Catalogue 14, 1928, no. 174; Catalogue 22, 1930, no. 221; purchased from William Schab, 1940
B-8283

Probably one of a series of engravings of the Apostles, this small print shows St. John with his attribute, the chalice with a serpent. This symbol refers to the story in which the Emperor Domitian commanded John to drink poisoned wine. As John was about to drink, the poison miraculously left the cup in the form of a snake.

Not listed by Lehrs, this engraving is a variant of a print considered to be the work of the Master of St. Erasmus (Lehrs III.273.82). There is no doubt that this *St. John* belongs with the Erasmus-Dutuit group. The Apostle's right hand is almost identical to the hand of Christ in the *Entry into Jerusalem* (cat. no. 23). St. John also has the same vertical stroke between his eyes, the three lines on his brow, and the feline eyes, that we find in the Christ of the *Last Judgment* (cat. no. 24). The decorative border with its little flourishes of the pen was probably executed by the same hand that decorated the preceding engraving.

One rarely finds engravings of so early a date printed, as this one is, in brown ink. Geisberg implies that the brown ink sometimes used by the Dutuit Master and his cohorts was of low quality and turned brown over the years through oxidation. The use of a low-grade ink would certainly be in keeping with what Geisberg refers to as the deplorable style and technique of this group of masters.[1]

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[1] *Geisberg,* Geschichte, *p. 181.*

27

MADONNA AND CHILD

Ca. 1460
Lehrs III.313.50, unique
64 x 52 mm.
Traces of flesh coloring; trimmed and cut to an arch shape
Watermark: Gothic P with flower (fragment)

Provenance: Baer and Co., Frankfurt, 1912: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 165, May 6-9, 1930, no. 890, pl. XXI; Purchased from Dr. F. J. Heilbroner, 1938
B-8281

The Madonna and Child are seated on a bench resembling the sarcophagi which commonly appear in representations of the Entombment and the Resurrection. It is probably intended as a symbolic prefigurement of the events of the Passion. The tiny leafless tree which grows out of a flower pot at the lower right may also symbolize Christ's sacrifice. We are forewarned, in a sense, that Christ's life will inevitably lead Him to the cross.

This is the unique impression listed by Lehrs. The drawing of faces and hands unmistakably identifies this master, though the modeling made richer by a third layer of parallel strokes applied over the first two exceeds his usual reticent use of cross-hatching and creates an atypical play of light and shade over the drapery folds.

28

ST. CHRISTOPHER

Ca. 1460
Undescribed
64 x 41 mm.
Printed on vellum; hand colored blue, olive, pink, grey

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1948
B-14,839

Printed directly on vellum and framed by an illuminated decoration, this engraving was no doubt used as a page in a manuscript breviary or Book of Hours and provides evidence that the engravings in small format by the Dutuit Master and his colleagues were produced primarily for the illustration of manuscripts. The plate mark, partially covered by the rinceau, can be seen just outside the double border of the Christopher representation.

This print was unknown to Lehrs. Its graphic vocabulary, however, especially the drawing of the face, links it directly to prints of the Erasmus and Dutuit Masters.

For discussion of the St. Christopher legend see cat. no. 81.

THE MASTER WITH THE BANDEROLES

Active ca. 1450-75

The Master with the Banderoles was named in 1834 by Jean Duchesne, at that time curator of prints of the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1] Duchesne based this name on a group of prints in the Paris collection characterized by prominent banderoles on which Latin inscriptions are written in Gothic letters. Inscribed banderoles are by no means peculiar to this artist and appear in the work of many other early engravers. Furthermore, banderoles are present in only about one-third of the 100-odd prints ascribed to this master. For these reasons Passavant expanded the master's name to Master of 1464 with the Banderoles.[2] Passavant's amendment, however, hardly helped to make this engraver a more specific personality since the date 1464 appears only on the Gothic alphabet engravings (L.102) and nowhere else in his *oeuvre.* This date, moreover, was copied by the engraver from a woodcut alphabet series which served as his model and does not indicate the date at which the engravings were made.

Almost all of the prints by the Master with the Banderoles are either directly copied from the work of other painters and engravers or are compiled of motifs from as many as five or six sources. The engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards and Master E.S. most frequently provided the Banderoles Master with compositions and figure types. In addition, he copied the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives and his Lower Rhenish contemporaries, as well as Italian engravers. Lehrs claims that the master also imitated the paintings of Stephan Lochner (see especially Lehrs 10) and the Flemish Master of Flémalle.[3] It has been suggested by Anzelewski that the Banderoles Master's five engravings of Prophets and Sibyls (L.75-79)[4] are copies of lost paintings by the Master of Flémalle.[5]

A few of the Master of the Banderoles' prints are copied from works by the Master E.S. which are dated 1467, evidence that the former was active in the late 1460's. His *Stoning of St. Stephen* (cat. no. 30) is copied from an early work by Israhel van Meckenem, usually dated between 1470 and 1475. The Master of the Banderoles, however, as avid a copyist as he was, appears never to have copied the works of Martin Schongauer, whose activity began in the early 1470's and who was the most influential Rhenish engraver in the 1470's and 1480's. This provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1470-75 for the activity of the Banderoles Master.

Professor J. Verdam, an expert on Netherlandish dialects, has identified the Master with the Banderoles' inscriptions as being characteristic of the region of the north Netherlands east of the Yssel River between Bocholt and Zwolle.[6] This would suggest that our master was a native of the low countries, though he may have worked for a time in northwestern Germany. His awareness of Lochner's style suggests, at the very least, a sojourn in Cologne. The claim made in the Thieme-Becker *Künstlerlexikon*[7] that he was a Nuremberg artist is totally unfounded.

St. Augustine (354-430) was born and educated in North Africa. He went to Rome to study law in 383 and came to Milan as professor of rhetoric in 387. There he met St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who led him to embrace the Christian faith. Augustine returned to Africa in 395 to become Bishop of Hippo, where he wrote his famous *Confessions*, the story of his spiritual life, and his *City of God*.

St. Augustine, venerated today as one of the four Latin Church Fathers, is usually identified by his attribute the heart, often a burning heart pierced by arrows, a symbol of his flaming piety and great love for God.[1] The symbol is derived from a passage in the ninth book of his *Confessions*, "Sagittaveras tu cor meum charitate tua" (You have wounded my heart with your love).

In our engraving, Augustine wears the bishop's habit and mitre. He sits at his desk with a pen in one hand and a knife for erasing in the other. The desk is supported by a curious vertical device with several branches ending in knobs.

The drawing of the face and hands, as well as the involved use of cross-hatching, is reminiscent of the small-format engravings of the Master of St. Erasmus and of the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives (cf. cat. nos. 23-28). It is even possible that this work imitates a lost engraving from the Erasmus-Dutuit workshop. Lehrs and Geisberg both considered this one of the Master of the Banderoles' earliest products.

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1. *Jean Duchesne*, Voyage d'un Iconophile, *Paris, 1834, p. 188.*
2. *Passavant, II, pp. 9-32.*
3. *Lehrs*, Kritischer Katalog, *IV, p. 8.*
4. *Reproduced in Hollstein, XII, p. 57.*
5. *Friedrich Lippmann*, Der Kupferstich *(7th ed., revised by Fedja Anzelewski), Berlin, 1963, p. 42.*
6. *Lehrs*, Kritischer Katalog, *IV, p. 22.*
7. *Ulrich Thieme, and Felix Becker*, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler, *vol. 37, Leipzig, 1950, p. 33.*

[1] *Cf. Field*, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 190.*

29

S[illegible]UGUSTINE

Ca. 1450-60
Lehrs IV.90.60, unique
67 x 46 mm.
Slightly torn at lower right and in left margin

Provenance: Baer and Co., Frankfurt, 1894; purchased from A. S. W. Rosenbach, 1929
B-8317

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 56; Hollstein, XXI, p. 45

30

THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN

Ca. 1470-75
Lehrs IV.104.71, unique
138 x 207 mm; sheet trimmed at top
Watermark: Ewer with gothic f (L.14; close to Briquet 12,707)

Provenance: Monastery of Mattsee, Upper Austria; Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue 8, 1927, no. 230; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2760

References: Lehrs, *Kritischer Katalog*, IV, p. 7; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 57; Hollstein, XII, p. 54

A deacon of the early Church, Stephen was the first Christian martyr. He was condemned to death by stoning after disputing with learned Jews and being falsely accused of blasphemy against Moses (*Acts* 6:8-8:2). Stephen, wearing the deacon's stole and dalmatic, is usually shown suffering his cruel martyrdom. In this scene, six beastly executioners seem to take great sadistic pleasure in carrying out their task. One of those who bore false witness against Stephen removes his coat with the help of a cohort, possibly Saul. Another vicious fellow, at the lower left, collects stones and rocks in a wicker basket to be sure of an adequate supply.

The Master with the Banderoles frequently copied the engravings of his predecessors and contemporaries. This engraving is a reversed copy of a youthful work by Israhel van Meckenem which was probably executed in the early 1470's (cat. no. 174). Given this date, we can be sure that this engraving is one of the Banderoles Master's later works. The copy is a fairly literal imitation of Meckenem's original, though the modeling is harsher and less systematic, and the facial types are even coarser and more hideous than they are in Meckenem's work.

The paper must have slipped during printing, causing the blurred double lines on the left half of the sheet. The ink, characteristic of the Banderoles Master, is very heavy and oily. A unique surviving impression, this print was found in 1912 pasted on the verso of a page in an incunabulum preserved in the library of the Mattsee Cloister in Upper Austria.

MASTER OF THE BOCCACCIO ILLUSTRATIONS

Active ca. 1476

Only twenty-one engravings are ascribed by Lehrs to the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations.[1] Twelve of them, a Passion series, are in tiny format and have survived for the most part in unique impressions, almost all of which have been hand colored. Another nine of this master's prints, (Hollstein, XII, pp. 118-122) his best known works, were produced specifically to be pasted in a French translation of Boccaccio's book on the unfortunate figures of myth and history, *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum et Mulierum* (Du Dechiet des Nobles Hommes et Femmes), published in Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1476. In the first edition of this Bruges book, spaces were left for the engravings to be inserted. The book was thus the earliest printed book illustrated with engravings. The most complete surviving example of this book with the hand-colored engravings inserted was formerly in the Lothian library at Newbattle Abbey and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[2]

Lehrs claimed to see in the Boccaccio Master's work the influence of the Master of the Housebook,[3] while Flechsig suggested without real justification that the prints attributed to the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations are all actually early works of the Master of St. Sebastian.[4] Wurzbach contended that the Boccaccio engraver was Israhel van Meckenem's wife, Ida,[5] while Rossiter proposed the much more likely possibility that Colard Mansion himself did the engravings.[6] The most significant recent research on the Boccaccio Master, that of Anzelewsky,[7] has linked the engraver to the Bruges miniature painter, the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book,[8] under whose direct influence the Boccaccio Master appears to have worked. It is likely that Colard Mansion, the publisher, employed an engraver who was instructed to work in the manner of the miniaturists. His products were colored and used as book illustrations.

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[1] *All of the Boccaccio Master's known engravings are reproduced in Hollstein, XII, pp. 114-122.*

[2] *Henry P. Rossiter, "Colard Mansion's Boccaccio of 1476,"* Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski, *Chicago, 1951, pp. 103-110.*

[3] *M. Lehrs, "Der Meister der Boccaccio-Bilder,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XXIII, 1902, p. 132.*

[4] *E. Flechsig, "Die Lichtführung,"* Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, *VIII, 1939, p. 46.*

[5] *Alfred von Wurzbach,* Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon, *III, p. 119.*

[6] *Rossiter, "Colard Mansion's Boccaccio," p. 110.*

[7] *F. Anzelewsky, "Die drei Boccaccio-Stiche von 1476 und ihre Meister,"* Festschrift Friedrich Winkler, *Berlin, 1959 esp. pp. 122-125.*

[8] *Active in Bruges, ca. 1470-1500; also called Master of the Leipzig Valerius Maximanus; discussed by Friedrich Winkler, "Der Brügger Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuches und seine Werke,"* Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *XXXV, 1914, pp. 225-44; F. Winkler,* Der Leipziger Valerius Maximanus, *Leipzig, 1921.*

31

THE RESURRECTION

Ca. 1470-75
Lehrs VII.398.23, unique
77 x 58 mm; sheet: 111 x 86 mm.

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue 20, 1929, no. 312; Catalogue 22, 1930, no. 219; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-8306

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 78a; Hollstein, XII, p. 117

This is one of a series of twelve small Passion engravings which Lehrs added to the Boccaccio Master's *oeuvre* in 1930. An angel turns aside the lid as Christ, holding the cross and banner symbolizing His victory over death, steps almost nonchalantly out of the tomb. Only one of the three soldiers guarding the sepulchre notices the miracle of Christ's Resurrection.

This engraving is slightly more primitive in style and composition than the master's book illustrations of 1476, and we have dated it earlier, between 1470 and 1475. The figures are somewhat plump and have highly characterized faces with large eyes and fleshy lips. These amusing figure types as well as the impromptu, almost humorous treatment of the theme recall the spirited drypoints of the Master of the Housebook. Lehrs has pointed out that the two guards in the foreground and the angel with the lid of the tomb are based on figures in an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem (Lehrs IX.163.152).

MASTER OF ST. SEBASTIAN
Active ca. 1470-90

One of the most worrisome groups of prints assembled by Lehrs is the collection of ten engravings he attributed to the so-called Master of St. Sebastian. Several of these prints appeared to Lehrs to be models for goldsmiths' work, leading him to the conclusion that the master was primarily a goldsmith. Lehrs also observed that the griffin and lion from the Cologne coat of arms appear in one of the master's works (L. 10, cat. no. 32), while an ostensible view of Cologne itself appears in the background of one of his other engravings (L. 1, cat. no. 33). This evidence, plus the common occurrence in the engravings of a Lower Rhenish watermark, the Gothic P, persuaded Lehrs that the master was a goldsmith active in the Cologne region.

The Master of St. Sebastian's burin style, Lehrs further contended, is easily recognized by its rich, sketchy quality, characterized by isolated patches of double and triple cross-hatching and by long series of slightly curved strokes such as those which appear on the drapery of St. Anne in cat. no. 33.

The present writer finds Lehrs's discussion of the Master of St. Sebastian troubling in several aspects. First, the rich mesh-like networks of hatching, such as those forming the shadows in cat. no. 32, are hardly characteristic of goldsmiths' work, but suggest instead a personality unrestricted by the stiff conventions of goldsmiths' ornament.

The engraver may well have worked in the Rhine region, since his figure types often approximate those of the Master of the Housebook who worked in the Middle Rhine area near Mainz. Lehrs's identification of the unfinished building in the background of the *Madonna, Child and St. Anne* (cat. no. 33), however, as the Cathedral of Cologne is entirely speculative.

The present writer questions the genuineness of several of the engravings attributed by Lehrs to the Sebastian Master (especially L. 1, L. 3). This skepticism must be expressed with reservations, of course, since I have not had an opportunity to study most of the individual prints at first hand. The one questionable engraving in our collection is discussed below, some of its apparent inconsistencies pointed out, and the suggestion made that the print may be a nineteenth-century pastiche of fifteenth-century styles.

The *oeuvre* of the Master of St. Sebastian is in need of thorough restudy. His role as a goldsmith, his place of activity, indeed, the very authenticity of the engravings Lehrs attributed to him must all be reviewed.

32

DESIGN FOR A BEAKER AND A PAX

Ca. 1480
Lehrs IV.199.10, unique
176 x 115 mm.

Provenance: Trivulziana, Milan; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-8310

References: M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI, 1888, p. 65; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 76

Two apparently unrelated designs, a beaker flanked by a lion and griffin and a pax with a representation of the Madonna and Child, have been combined in this engraving. A pax (Latin for "peace") is a small metal or enamel tablet commonly used at mass during the fifteenth century. The representation on the pax is often, as here, enframed by a gothic arch. The pax was passed from one member of the congregation to the next so that each might kiss it. Sometimes it was held by the officiating priest so that it could be kissed by each communicant. This custom was based on St. Paul's injunction, "Greet one another with a holy Kiss."

The griffin and lion in the upper representation are usually associated with the coat of arms of Cologne. They are often shown, as here, facing each other in the manner of heraldic emblems, holding the shield of Cologne, rather than the goblet which the engraver has substituted. The presence of these two animals argues for a Lower Rhenish origin for the engraving.

The Master of St. Sebastian appears to have been influenced by the Master of the Housebook who was active in the Middle Rhine region in the 1480's. The Madonna and Child are especially similar to the figure types of the Housebook Master (cf. Lehrs VIII.105.27).

Lehrs argued that this engraving was a model for goldsmiths. The vigorous, painterly technique, however, would seem to contradict Lehrs's point. One also wonders to what use a goldsmith could have put a design for a beaker—if beaker it is--supported by a griffin and lion.

33

THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. ANNE

Ca. 1460 (?)
Lehrs IV.193.1, pl. 120, no. 344
174 x 119 mm.

Provenance: Trivulziana, Milan; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-8311

References: M. Lehrs, "Eine wichtige Bereicherung des Dresdener Kupferstichkabinett," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, LXII, 1928/29, p. 10; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 75

The Madonna and Child are shown seated on the lap of St. Anne, representing three generations of the Holy Family. In the left background is a cityscape which Lehrs identified as Cologne because of the large unfinished tower which he assumed to be Cologne Cathedral. The Cathedral of Cologne was many centuries in the building and was only partially completed in the fifteenth century. Evidence discussed in the preceding catalogue number links the Sebastian Master to Cologne. It was probably due to this, rather than to the inadequate visual evidence in the print which prompted Lehrs to suppose that the city view represents Cologne.

Although no scholar has ever expressed doubts about this engraving, the present writer has serious reservations about its authenticity as a fifteenth-century work and feels that it might well be a nineteenth-century pastiche. It is being included in this exhibition and catalogue to expose it to a large audience and, hopefully, to arouse some new research on the enigmatic Master of St. Sebastian, whose entire *oeuvre* is in need of reassessment and study.

The present engraving is one of two impressions known to Lehrs. The other, formerly in the collection of Friedrich August II of Saxony, is now in the Dresden print room. Our impression is on old paper similar to that in the preceding catalogue number.

The most disturbing quality of this print is its unreconciled combination of sophisticated elements and primitive or archaic ones. The solidly constructed bench on which St. Anne sits is drawn in proper perspective and seems totally inconsistent with the excessively stylized bunches of grass with which it is bedecked.

Along the base of the bench are leaves, blades of grass, and assorted weeds which appear not to grow from the ground but to be pasted onto the lower surface of the bench, as if done by a competent artist who was striving to appear naive or primitive. All of the plants in the foreground seem to be imitations by a modern hand of the kind of semi-decorative plants found in prints by Master E.S. The artificial character of the towering cliff in the upper right becomes apparent when compared to a similar topographical feature in Schongauer's early *Peasant Family Going to Market* (cat. no. 34).

The face of the Madonna has a curiously "pre-Raphaelite" look, unlike anything found in fifteenth-century engravings of the North. The church tower in the right background emerges from a cluster of trees as it might in an etching by Samuel Palmer, but not as one would expect it to in a fifteenth-century work. The background, furthermore, seems to be excessively laden with archaistic details: little, carelessly drawn human figures, excessively schematic trees, several "characteristic" ships, and even—on the little bridge which projects from the quaint city—a woman wearing a hennin, the tall narrow hat fashionable in Lower Rhenish areas in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and often worn by the wealthy ladies painted by Memling. The engraver has been careful to include in the cityscape a late-Gothic half-timber building, a building with characteristically Lower Rhenish stepped gables (charmingly askew!), a narrow steeple embellished with crockets and finials, and two Romanesque towers which guard the harbor. The artist seems never satisfied that he has put in enough late medieval details to assure the viewer of the age of the print. In brief, several portions of the scene are deliberately quaint, while the drawing appears deliberately naive. The final result is a conglomeration of parts which do not add up to a unified whole which emanates a fifteenth-century spirit.

It is unlikely that the engraving was created intentionally to defraud. It is too unattractive. It may have been an exercise by a later engraver, perhaps a nineteenth-century craftsman, working in what he thought to be the manner of the earliest engravers.

MARTIN SCHONGAUER
Ca. 1450-1491

Martin Schongauer, the most influential graphic artist in Northern Europe in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is the first German engraver whose life's activity and historical personality have been at least partially reconstructed. He is also the first panel and fresco painter who produced a significant corpus of engraved work. Documents in the archives and city library of Colmar provide a framework of facts around which a theoretical biography has been built; in addition, one Schongauer painting and a few drawings are dated, adding to our fund of concrete information.

Martin's father, Caspar, was a goldsmith who is known to have moved to Colmar in Alsace around 1440. Martin's birth date used to be set as early as 1430 or 1440, but most recent scholarship has tended to place it later, about 1450 or shortly thereafter.[1] It is a documented fact that Schongauer matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1465. He apparently did not find classical studies to his liking or compatible with his artistic talents, and he no doubt returned to Colmar the following year. The important point, however, as Flechsig has shown,[2] is that it was common for students at that time to begin their university studies at the age of twelve or thirteen. Since Schongauer was in Leipzig in 1465 his birth date can be estimated at 1452 or 1453. Moreover, there is a portrait in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich identified by its inscription as a likeness of the painter Martin Schongauer. The painting is given by Baum and Flechsig to Thoman Burgkmair, though it appears in the new catalogue of the Alte Pinakothek as the work of Hans Burgkmair.[3] The painting bears the date 1483 and represents a young man, in his late twenties, perhaps, or early thirties. This lends support to the supposition that Schongauer was born in the early 1450's. Schongauer died in 1491 in Breisach, a town on the east bank of the Rhine not far from Colmar. He had been called to Breisach in 1488 to decorate the west and south walls of the Cathedral with an enormous fresco of the Last Judgment, a painting which survives today, although in ruinous condition.

Though Schongauer's father, Caspar, was a goldsmith, it seems that Martin was first and foremost a painter and only secondarily an engraver. All 116 known Schongauer engravings have come down to the twentieth century in fairly large numbers. It would thus seem reasonable to assume that all of his engravings are extant, and that none has been lost to us. Even if we grant, say, a month for the incising and printing of each copper plate, we are accounting for only about half of Schongauer's active lifetime. It appears likely that he occupied himself with engraving between commissions for paintings. Unfortunately, few paintings from his hand have survived: several small panels of the *Nativity* and *Adoration*, the *Orliac Altarpiece* in the Colmar museum, *The Madonna in the Rose Arbor* in the Martinskirche in Colmar, and the Breisach fresco. On the other hand, we know his complete corpus of engravings. Schongauer's fame thus rests largely on his engravings, on an activity that was subordinate to his major vocation, painting.

Between 1466 and 1469, Schongauer was probably apprenticed to Caspar Isenmann, the municipal painter of Colmar and a neighbor of the Schongauer family. Isenmann's greatest work, the high altar of the Martinskirche, now in the museum in Colmar, was completed in 1465.[4] Like most Upper Rhenish painters of his time, Isenmann was greatly influenced by Flemish painting of the preceding generation—especially the sophisticated painting of Roger van der Weyden—and probably studied in the Netherlands. It was no doubt Isenmann who stimulated Schongauer's interest in Flemish painting and who may have encouraged him, upon the completion of his apprenticeship, to go to Burgundy to see the great altarpiece of the Last Judgment which Roger had painted for the hospital in Beaune. A Schongauer drawing of 1469, preserved in the Louvre, is a direct and literal copy of the Christ from Roger's *Beaune Altarpiece*. Schongauer's intimate knowledge of Roger's paintings as well as the echo in Schongauer's early work of the energetic realism of Hugo van der Goes (see cat. nos. 39, 41), suggests that Schongauer's travels during his Wanderjahre took him down the Rhine to Cologne and then to the Netherlands. He probably got as far as Bruges and Middleburg in Zeeland, where he saw Roger's *Bladelin Altarpiece*, a painting which exercised great influence on Schongauer's early *Nativity* engraving (cat. no. 38). Schongauer's early work betrays repeatedly his profound debt to Netherlandish panel painting. His *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 39) is a variation on Roger's *Columba Altarpiece* now in Munich, but which was in Cologne in the 1460's; and his *St. John the Baptist* engraving (cat. no. 50) is distinctly in the Netherlandish tradition and may be compared with the St. John in the Master of Flémalle's *Werl Altar*.

Some scholars feel that Schongauer, in addition to his trips to Burgundy and the Netherlands, also visited Spain during the formative years of his career. Several of his drawings, apparently portraits, are of so-called "Moorish" types.[5] These types also populate the engravings in the roles of heathens, Roman soldiers, or Christ's tormentors. Flechsig also claims that the bust-length *Foolish Virgin* (cat. no. 105) bears an unmistakably Moorish appearance.[6] Other evidence which supports the hypothetical visit to Spain are the tropical date palm and dragon tree in the *Flight into Egypt* (cat. no. 40), as well as the fact that one of Schongauer's major early works depicts St. James the Greater at the Battle of Clavijo (cat. no. 42). St. James is the patron saint of Spain and is venerated especially at Compostella in northwestern Spain, the goal of countless pilgrimages in the late middle ages.

Schongauer's only dated panel painting, *The Madonna in the Rose Arbor*, is still in the church of St. Martin in Colmar for which it was painted in 1473. This painting, extremely Rogerian in facial type and composition, relates closely in style and iconography to the engraved *Madonna on the Crescent Moon* (cat. no. 35). The engraving is universally considered one of Schongauer's very earliest attempts in the medium. Thus, we can assume that Schongauer returned from his extensive travels by 1472 at the latest, and that the engravings given to his early period, like the painting of the *Rose Arbor Madonna*, date from the early years of the 1470's.

Schongauer's thorough acquaintance with Flemish painting probably accounts for the composure, the impregnable dignity, and the sense of impeccable finish which characterize his engravings. Engraving prior to Schongauer's emergence was merely a craft; even the engravings of Master E.S., despite their charm, their inventiveness, and the high quality of their draftsmanship, are never possessed of the polish, concentration of form, or monumentality inherent in Schongauer's work. As much as Schongauer learned from the great geniuses of Flemish painting, however, he avoided the somewhat affected, ceremonious quality of Roger's representations and usually invested his figures with a shy restraint and human tenderness. Although Schongauer is formally dependent upon Flemish style, he is spiritually allied with the lingering tradition of the idyllic international style. This style persisted throughout the fifteenth century in Germany, particularly in the Rhenish art centers like Cologne, in the work of painters like Stephan Lochner.

It has often been claimed that Schongauer learned engraving from Master E.S., his predecessor in the Upper Rhine region. This attractive but simplistic view linking the two great masters must be rejected since E.S.'s stylistic influence can be discerned nowhere in Schongauer's early work. Furthermore, by 1467 Master E.S.'s burin technique was extremely advanced. He had evolved systematic crosshatching to some degree of perfection. Schongauer's earliest prints are technically awkward, characterized by uncoordinated flicks and strokes of the burin which suggest a painterly point of view. Schongauer developed his formal graphic style gradually, recapitulating in great measure the technical development of E.S. Schongauer soon surpassed E.S. in terms of pictorial refinement and the form-creating value of his hatching. The point is that had Schongauer studied with E.S., we would expect that his early works would betray more of the technical prowess and graphic purity of the late E.S.

Since Scheibler[7] and Seidlitz[8] studied Schongauer in the nineteenth century much scholarly attention has been given to the master. Numerous attempts have been made to place his 116 engravings, all of which were left undated by the artist, in chronological sequence. Several writers have established *termini ante quem* for Schongauer's prints from dated paintings, prints and sculptures which copy the undated Schongauers.[9] Wendland's book of 1907[10] deals entirely with problems of chronology, and though it provides many valuable formalistic observations, it presents too dogmatic a chronological organization, straining the capacity of stylistic analysis by attempting to place every print in exact relation to every other.[11] The more recent attempt by Flechsig[12] to establish a Schongauer chronology is equally arbitrary and relies mainly on the dubious theory that prints can be placed in an artist's early or middle period on the basis of the direction from which light flows onto the scene. Julius Baum, in his short monograph on Schongauer,[13] arranges the prints in quite a satisfactory chronological order. The differences between Baum's chronology and the one presented here are minimal and can be determined easily by comparing the order of the plates in Baum's book with our plates 34-115.

Schongauer's earliest prints show an outspoken indebtedness to Roger van der Weyden, while Roger's style becomes completely assimilated in Schongauer's later work. Schongauer begins in a rich coloristic manner with "raw," vigorous, and undisciplined hatching. He later develops, however, a graphic precision which permitted the creation of immaculate works of art, consummate in their craftsmanship. Master E.S. had employed cross-hatching in the 1450's and 1460's. It was left to Schongauer, however, to perfect the technique, to develop and to refine it. Schongauer learned to organize his burin strokes into stringently controlled networks which model and define every bulge and every hollow of his intricate drapery patterns, endowing the folds with a weighty, plastic character. Just as Schongauer's burin technique evolved, so did his compositions develop from a late-Gothic complexity to an almost classical orderliness and decorum.[14] His compositions become increasingly simple and lucid. The individual figure or the single heraldic emblem silhouetted against a blank background becomes a dominant motif in the later works. A particularly telling comparison can be made between an early Schongauer, the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (cat. no. 37) and a mature work, *St. Lawrence* (cat. no. 112). In the early work, the composition is crowded and highly animated. We are left with the impression of a conglomeration of spiky, irregular forms. The modeling, like that on the saint's garment for example, is accomplished with a kind of nervous, sketchy modeling composed of uncoordinated, comma-like burin strokes. In the *St. Lawrence*, on the other hand, a simple columnar figure is isolated like a piece of statuary against a blank background. In perfect harmony with the handsome aristocratic figure is the articulate graphic language. The crisp drapery folds are precisely defined by the contrasts of light and dark and the use of strictly controlled, doubled cross-hatching in the deepest shadows.

Although Schongauer's prints were not necessarily intended as models for craftsmen or artists—as the prints of E.S. probably were—they enjoyed wide circulation and, because of their exquisite beauty and simplicity of design, gave rise to a host of copies in all possible media. Great sculptors such as Veit Stoss and Tilmann Riemenschneider apparently used the engravings in their workshops as models for their apprentices, and Schongauer's compositions often appear on the wings of carved altarpieces. Lehrs enumerates hundreds of copies after Schongauer in the decorative arts, while Wilfried Thöllden was able to assemble literally hundreds of examples of German sculpture done in the decades just following Schongauer's death which are clearly derived from Schongauer's compositions.[15] Schongauer's prints were also copied by painters in all sections of the German-speaking lands. Testimony to Schongauer's fame in his own time is the fact that Albrecht Dürer, when he finished his apprenticeship in Nuremberg in 1492, set out for Colmar where he hoped to meet Schongauer and work under the great master. Unfortunately, Schongauer died the year before and Dürer's trip was in vain.

Although as important an art historian as Dvořák realized that Schongauer was one of the leading figures in German art from 1470 to 1490 and one of the most characteristic examples of the German spirit,[16] Schongauer's importance as a technical innovator and stylistic fountainhead has yet to be fully grasped or appreciated.

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1. *Eduard Flechsig,* Martin Schongauer, *Strassburg, 1951, pp. 1-33; Julius Baum* Martin Schongauer, *Vienna, 1948, p. 8; for a contrary argument placing Schongauer's birth date about 1435 see Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *VII, 1955, pp. 17-19.*

2. *Flechsig,* Schongauer, *p. 102.*

3. Altdeutsche Malerei, *Katalog II, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1963, no. 1027, pp. 50-52.*

4. *For information on Isenmann see Gisela Bergsträsser,* Caspar Isenmann, Ein Beitrag zur Oberrheinischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts, *Colmar, 1941, and A. Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *VII, 1955 pp. 12-15, pls. 13-17; documentation showing that Isenmann lived in the Schedelgasse, the same street in which the Schongauer house was located, is found in E. Waldner, "Urkundliches uber Colmar Maler des 15. Jahrhunderts,"* Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, *LIII, 1899, p. 69.*

5. *Jakob Rosenberg,* Martin Schongauer, Die Handzeichnungen, *Munich, 1923, nos. 13, 14, 17, 35.*

6. *Flechsig,* Schongauer, *pp. 203-205.*

7. *L. Scheibler, "Schongauer und der Meister des Bartholomäus,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *VII, 1884, pp. 31-68.*

8. *W. von Seidlitz, "Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *VII, 1884, pp. 169-182.*

9. *Alfred Schmid, "Copien nach Kupferstichen von Schongauer bei oberdeutschen Malern und Bildhauer,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XV, 1892, pp. 19-25; M. Lehrs. "Zur Datierung der Kupferstiche Martin Schongauers,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XVIII, 1895, pp. 429-432; F. Sazl, "Zur Datierung von Schongauers Raufenden Goldschmiedelehrlingen,"* Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, *III, 1910, p. 162; many of these dated copies after Schongauer are also listed by J. Baum,* Schongauer, *pp. 34-35.*

10. *Hans Wendland,* Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher, *Berlin, 1907; other attempts to organize Schongauer's work*

chronologically have been made by Daniel Burckhardt, Die Schule Martin Schongauers am Oberrhein, *Basel, 1888 and by Geisberg in the Thieme-Becker* Künstlerlexikon, *XXX, 1936, pp. 249-254. Geisberg's entry in the* Künstlerlexikon *is an excellent summary of our knowledge of Schongauer and has a thorough bibliography up to 1936.*

11. For a critique of Wendland's method see Max J. Friedländer, "Martin Schongauers Kupferstiche," Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, *N.F. XXVI, 1915, pp. 105-112.*

12. Flechsig, Schongauer, *pp. 188-282.*

13. See footnote 1.

14. A brilliant but little known essay on the "classicism" of Schongauer is Ulrich Middeldorf, "Martin Schongauers Klassischer Stil," Deutsche Beiträge zur Geistigen Überlieferung, *Chicago, 1947, pp. 94-114.*

15. W. Thöllden, Die Wirkung der Schongauerstiche auf die deutsche Plastik um 1500, *Dresden, 1938.*

16. Max Dvořák, Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte, *Munich, 1924 (especially ch. III, "Schongauer und die Niederländische Malerei," pp. 149-189).*

34

PEASANT FAMILY GOING TO MARKET

Ca. 1470-75
Lehrs V.330.90
161 x 159 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2633

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 197, 252;
Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 36, pl. 2

One of Schongauer's earliest works, this engraving appears to have no religious significance though it resembles a Flight into Egypt and may be based on a Flight scene. This is one of the very few Schongauer engravings in which the figures are graceless. The faces are rude and the clothing ragged. The father's trousers are ripped at the knee, while his sword protrudes through the end of the torn scabbard. The child, like a little dwarf, hangs onto the belt of his haggish mother. The father carries a sack and a wicker basket which is beautifully and carefully drawn, while the mother has two geese dangling from her hand and a rosary hanging from her belt.

Characteristic of Schongauer's earliest engravings is the tentative, hesitant quality of the hatching; this random modeling appears most conspicuously on the hill behind the man, on the horse, and in the shadow cast by the horse.

The landscape is rather charming. One feels that the view into the distance on the right, quite freshly handled, was observed from nature. In Schongauer's mature work, landscape tends to become increasingly simplified and abstracted (cf. cat. no. 63), if it appears at all.

Schongauer's monogram appears on every print he made. Many writers have noted that in his ten earliest engravings (represented by cat. nos. 34-42), the two outer lines of the M are absolutely vertical parallels. In all the later prints, these lines are diagonal, making the M a more triangular shape.[1] Whereas Master E.S.'s monogram always appears to be derived from Gothic minuscule, Schongauer's initials are always in Roman capitals. This may reflect Schongauer's brief training in the classics at Leipzig University.

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[1] *F. Baumgarten, "Martin Schongauers Monogramm,"* Kunstchronik, *N.F. XV, 1904, p. 181.*

35

MADONNA ON THE CRESCENT

Ca. 1470
Lehrs V.199.40
173 x 108 mm.
Watermark: Triple mountain with cloverleaf, Lehrs 13

Provenance: J. D. Böhm, Vienna, Lugt 1442; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2604

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 196-98, 392, pl. 40;
Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 36, pl. 10

In the *Apocalypse* or *Book of Revelations* (12:1), St. John's vision of the Madonna is described. She is clothed with the sun and stands on the moon, her head crowned by twelve stars. The Apocalyptic Madonna evolved into a standard iconographic type which frequently appears in fifteenth-century engraving. The sun is shown as a pattern of flaming rays which project from the Virgin, while the moon on which she stands is merely a symbolic crescent. The presence of two hovering angels who hold the Madonna's glittering crown is a Schongauer innovation.

The facial and figure types of the Madonna and the Child are reminiscent of the style of both Roger van der Weyden[1] and Hugo van der Goes.[2] This suggests that the engraving is a youthful work, done at a time when Schongauer had given himself over fully to the conventional Netherlandish types and while Flemish pictures were still very fresh in his mind. Technically and stylistically, the print shows certain weaknesses which betray the hand of an inexperienced artist and engraver. A conspicuous unerased error appears at the Virgin's shoulder in the small space between her cloak and the angel's tunic. The hatching is random and only minimally models three-dimensional form; the drapery is flat and lacks cohesive pattern. Finally, the space is filled with irregular forms—the Madonna's spidery nimbus and the stiffly and hesitantly drawn ribbon clouds—which overwhelm us and distract attention from the main figure.

Two angels similar to those in this engraving and bearing a similar crown appear in Schongauer's only dated painting, the *Madonna of the Rose Arbor* of 1473, as well as in a tiny Schongauer panel showing the Madonna and Child in a window. The latter painting, which is extremely close in format to this engraving, was formerly in the Goldammer collection in Frankfurt.[3] It disappeared after it was bought by an English art dealer about 1925. Flechsig has hypothesized that Schongauer was so pleased with his tiny painting that he decided to engrave it. Our engraving is thus ostensibly a reversed copy of the Goldammer painting.

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[1] *Compare particularly Roger's* Madonna and Child *reproduced in Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pl. XXIV.*

[2] *See Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *IV, pl. I.*

[3] *Reproduced in Baum,* Schongauer, *pl. 180 and Flechsig,* Schongauer, *pl. 39.*

36

MADONNA WITH A PARROT

Ca. 1470-75
Lehrs V.188.37, second state
156 x 109 mm.

Provenance: Unidentified and illegible collector's stamp on verso; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2603

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 196-98;
Baum, *Schongauer*, pp. 36-37, pl. 3

A work from Schongauer's earliest phase, this engraving nevertheless shows significant technical advances over the preceding catalogue number. The modeling serves a greater form-creating function. The bunched drapery from which the Virgin's right hand emerges, for example, becomes a series of abrupt concavities and convexities, while her sleeve and the ornate pillow on which the Child sits are endowed with a satin quality achieved by the neat, compact modeling strokes. In the prior engraving, textures are all but absent while here they are given emphasis. Note the stiff parchment pages of the Virgin's book and the soft wavy quality of her long tresses. The emphasis on observed fact as well as the facial type of the Madonna are Flemish-inspired. We are reminded not so much of Roger's types as of Dirk Bouts's, and we can compare the face here with that of Bouts's *Madonna* in London.[1]

Another development in this engraving is the use of stricter outlines and more compact compositional order which delimits form and makes it easier to grasp the representation. Evidence that this is still a very early work, however, can be found in the sketchiness of some of the modeling, that, for example, on the Virgin's face. Note also the curious placement of the plane of the rear wall which appears to come forward to the very edge of the ledge, leaving no space for the lower half of the Madonna's body. Though the Madonna and Child together with the pillow are inscribed by a simple pear-shaped contour, the forms within this contour tend to intertangle in a rich, painterly abundance of forms. The Madonna and Child, too, look off in different directions; their hands are occupied by a variety of disparate activities. This psychological disunity comes into conflict with the cogent composition. The clear silhouette of the Madonna is also disturbed by Schongauer's ambitious attempt to show the right-angle joint of the wall just behind the Madonna. Convincing construction of this kind of cubic interior space slightly exceeds the engraver's grasp at this early stage in his career.

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[1] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *III, pl. XXXI.*

37

THE TRIBULATIONS OF ST. ANTHONY

Ca. 1470-75,
Lehrs V.243.54, second state
315 x 232 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower and cross-stroke, close to Lehrs 64

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2611

References: M. Lehrs, "Italienische Kopien nach deutschen Kupferstichen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XII, 1891, pp. 130-31; Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 196-97; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 37, pl. 4

Anthony was a third-century hermit saint who underwent innumerable temptations at the hands of the devil. He is considered the father of monasticism and is usually shown wearing a monk's robe. Often he is depicted carrying a cross and accompanied by a pig, symbolic of his triumph over sensuality (see cat. nos. 65, 127). This Schongauer engraving, often called "The Temptation of St. Anthony" or "St. Anthony Carried Aloft by Devils" is more accurately identified as the saint's tribulations or torments. The subject is based on a passage in the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine.[1] According to the legend, angels carried Anthony from place to place in the air, while demons sought to hinder his passage. Schongauer's scene shows a group of hideous demons accosting St. Anthony to prevent his ascent heavenward. The angels have fled in the face of this demonic onslaught. The demons toward the bottom of the scene are especially bent on holding Anthony back, while those above beat him down with clubs. This accords with Anthony's belief, as reported in the *Golden Legend*, that souls mounting toward heaven are often arrested in their flight by Satan.

Schongauer's inventiveness in the creation of these zoomorphic demons has often been commented upon. Flechsig[2] has pointed out that the demon grasping Anthony's left shoulder is a pearl lizard (*Lacerta ocelata*), an animal about one meter in length which is native to central and southern Spain. The other demons also seem to be constructed to some degree of natural animal forms (bat wings, pig's feet, claws, etc.), but always with fantastic imaginary heads made as gruesome and frightening as Schongauer's gentle personality would allow.

This engraving enjoyed great fame in its time. Vasari reports that Michelangelo was so captivated by Schongauer's print that he made a copy of it.[3] The demons also seem to have inspired Dürer. The figure of Death in Dürer's *Knight, Death and Devil* engraving derives from the demon with the snout and hairy arm to the left of Anthony's head. The same demon type occurs in Dürer's woodcuts, notably in the Apocalypse woodcuts of 1498 and in the *Christ in Limbo* (Kurth 217), where the Devil guards the door against Christ's entry.

The undisciplined modeling and the monogram with the vertical M identify this as an early Schongauer. The figure of St. Anthony is not unrelated to the bluntly realistic figures of Hugo van der Goes, especially those of the Apostles in his *Death of the Virgin* in Bruges.[4]

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[1] The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, *trans. by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, I, London, 1941, p. 100.*

[2] *Flechsig,* Schongauer, *p. 301.*

[3] *See M. Lehrs, "Italienische Kopien," pp. 103-31.*

[4] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *IV, pl. XXI; Compare also the figure at the extreme right of Hugo's* Nativity, *pls. XXIV and XXVI.*

38-41

FOUR ENGRAVINGS FOR A LIFE OF THE VIRGIN SERIES, CA. 1470-75

Schongauer apparently planned to do a series of engravings illustrating the Life of the Virgin, but he completed only these four plates. Closely related in spirit and style, all four bear the early vertical monogram and exhibit the sketchy modeling of Schongauer's early period. They also betray his keen awareness of Netherlandish painting in the period just following his Wanderjahre in the low countries. Consequently, there are numerous evidences of the influence of Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and Dirk Bouts which will be enumerated below. The four prints represent Schongauer's early pictorial style in full blossom. He strives to define surface textures and fills his spaces with a complicated variety of forms. His accurate observation of surfaces and his desire for a realistic effect merges with his own poetic response to the subject matter. The scenes, especially the *Nativity* and *Flight into Egypt*, are thus endowed with a charming, fairy-tale quality.

38

THE NATIVITY

Lehrs V.50.5, pl. 131, no. 361
256 x 169 mm.

Provenance: K. E. von Liphart, Dorpat, Lugt 1687;
W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-47

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 115, 195-96, 198, 250;
Baum, *Schongauer* pp. 37-38, pl. 5

The iconography of the Nativity was greatly altered at the end of the fourteenth century due to the revelations of the mystic Swedish saint, Birgitta. In 1373 she announced that a vision had appeared to her. She reported seeing the Virgin remove her mantle and veil, allowing her beautiful golden hair to fall loosely down her shoulders. With her hands extended in prayer she knelt in ecstasy, lost in rapturous contemplation. While thus in prayer, she suddenly gave birth to her son.

Up to 1373, the Virgin of the Nativity was depicted according to the Byzantine tradition, reclining inside a cave or grotto and holding the newborn Child wrapped in swaddling clothes. According to Birgitta's vision, however, the birth took place miraculously while the Virgin knelt and prayed. One of the most influential works of Northern art to show the Birgittine version of the Nativity is Robert Campin's painting of about 1420-25 in the museum of Dijon.[1] This version of the Nativity also appears in Roger's *Bladelin Altarpiece*,[2] a painting which Schongauer surely knew since the Madonna in this engraving is a reversed copy of it. Although the scene takes place in daylight, Joseph holds a lantern with a lighted candle. This light, according to St. Birgitta, is totally obscured by the radiance that emanates from the Child. The candle is thus symbolic of a "material light" which is obscured by the divine light of Christ.[3] The ox and ass are always present at the Nativity, symbolizing that the humblest creatures were present when Jesus was born and that they acknowledged Him as the Son of God.

Unlike the Flemish paintings of this subject, the scene takes place inside, rather than outside, the Gothic ruin. The architectural frame with its huge masonry blocks and ivy-covered arch beautifully enframes and isolates the Holy Family from the outside world and contributes to the lyrical mood.

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[1] *Reproduced in Erwin Panofsky,* Early Netherlandish Painting, *Cambridge, 1953, pl. 88, no. 201.*

[2] *Reproduced in Panofsky,* Netherlandish Painting, *pl. 198, no. 337.*

[3] *For observations on the origin and development of this motif see Panofsky,* Netherlandish Painting, *pp. 125-26.*

39

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Lehrs V.56.6, pl. 132, no. 362, first state
259 x 170 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with staff and star, Lehrs 54

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1940
B-2584

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 115, 195-96, 291;
Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 38, pl. 6

Observations on the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi are found under catalogue nos. 11 and 136. Schongauer did not copy any specific Flemish prototype, but a number of elements suggest Flemish sources which he may have sketched during his Wanderjahre, or which he may have recalled upon his return to Colmar. The kneeling magus is related to a similar figure in Hugo van der Goes's *Adoration* in Berlin, the so-called *Monforte Altar*,[1] while the handsome hat which lies on the ground in the lower left is close to that in Roger's *Columba Altar*.[2] The attempt to relate foreground and background by using a crowded procession of riders and onlookers, seen on the right side of the picture, is a solution employed in Dirk Bouts's *Adoration*[3] in Munich. The Madonna, similar to the

Madonna in number 36, is also characteristically Boutsian.

As in the *Madonna with the Parrot* (no. 36), Schongauer is concerned with convincing textural definition. Especially proficiently handled are the fur collar and velvety cloak of the eldest magus, the straw roof of the hut, and the handsome golden objects, monstrances and chalices which the Magi offer as gifts to the Child.

Michael Wolgemuth copied certain details from this Schongauer composition in one of his most important paintings, the *Zwickau Altarpiece* of 1479.

40

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Lehrs V.62.7
261 x 171 mm.
Watermark: Profile head, Lehrs 71

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1940
B-2585

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 195-96, 296-97; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 38, pl. 7

The tropical plants in this idyllic engraving, the dragon tree at the left as well as the date palm, are an important part of the evidence that Schongauer visited Spain during his Wanderjahre. The donkey stops momentarily as five angels push down the branches of the palm tree to make it easy for Joseph to reach the fruit. The scene abounds with charming details, probably individually observed from nature but combined here according to Schongauer's poetic inventiveness: the lizards in the lower left, the parrot eating berries at the top of the dragon tree, and the deer—curious inhabitants of a tropical grove!

Lehrs cites scores of copies after this engraving, including the woodcut of the Flight from Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series (Kurth 187), which is a free variation upon Schongauer's composition.

41

DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs V.106.16, pl. 133, no. 363, first state
261 x 171 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with star, close to Lehrs 44, 45

Provenance: Joseph O. Entres, Munich, Lugt 2941; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1938
B-2588

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 85; Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 195, 306; Baum, *Schongauer*, pp. 38-39, pl. 8

According to an apocryphal legend, the twelve Apostles miraculously appeared at the Virgin's bedside at the time of her death. In Schongauer's version of this theme, the youngest Apostle, St. John, helps the Virgin hold a lighted candle since her hand is too feeble to grasp it. Some of the Apostles read prayers for the Madonna while others look on with concern or turn away grief-stricken. The deep pathos of the scene, the weighty but unidealized and unkempt figures of the Apostles, as well as the diagonal placement of the bed, recall Hugo van der Goes's *Death of the Virgin* in Bruges.[1] Hugo's scene is broadly organized, however, while Schongauer's print is extremely ornate, the surface animated with a complicated tangle of line. No single figure emerges very clearly as all forms are caught up in the linear calligraphy.

The care with which the candlestick at the foot of the bed has been treated is often cited as evidence that Schongauer grew up as the son of a goldsmith and was therefore conscious, as only an artisan could be, of the minute details found in such an object. No attention has been paid, however, to the iconographic significance of the candlestick. Although a thorough analysis of its meaning is beyond the capacity of this writer, we can offer a tentative suggestion for its interpretation. The feet of the candlestick are composed of ferocious lions, each of which has a sheep or ram under its paw. The figures on the base of the candlestick consist of several nude women and children and a naked man playing a lute. Perhaps this scene refers to the belief that music was part of those undesirable activities associated with such vices as *luxuria* or *curiositas*. Adolph Goldschmidt has observed that the lower part of candlesticks was the traditional place for the representation of godless or sinful practices, contrasted with the divine light symbolized by the burning candle itself.[2] Whereas the candle itself represents Mary, bearer of Christ, "Lux Mundi" (Light of the World), the scene at the base of the lamp symbolizes those who have not found their way from darkness to light, or who have chosen to live in spiritual darkness.

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[1] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *IV*, *pl. XXVIII*.
[2] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *II*, *pl. XLII*.
[3] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *III*, *pl. XXXIII*.

Many works of art are based on Schongauer's composition, which may itself be an adaptation from Roger van der Weyden. A Rogerian *Annunciation* in the museum in Antwerp shows the Virgin's bed receding on a diagonal for the first time. Schongauer's engraving was probably instrumental in spreading the motif. It appears, notably, in Dürer's woodcut of the same subject (Kurth 220), and in numerous German paintings of the *Dormition*. Some artists borrowed only segments of Schongauer's scene; the two kneeling apostles appear in Martin Schaffner's *Wettenhausen Altarpiece* of 1523-24 in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.

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[1] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *IV, pl. XXI; Since the Bruges painting is considered one of Hugo's very late works, done just before his death in 1482, it is possible that Hugo knew the Schongauer engraving and borrowed its general composition. We are sure that Schongauer's* Death of the Virgin *pre-dates 1481, since Wenzel von Olmutz copied the Schongauer in that year.*

[2] *A. Goldschmidt*, Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und Seine Beziehung zur Symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts, *Berlin, 1895, pp. 73-75.*

42

THE BATTLE OF ST. JAMES AT CLAVIJO

Ca. 1470-75
Lehrs V.376.1
289 x 433 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Oskar Stoessel, 1947
B-14,150

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 252-282, pls. 14-19; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 39, pl. 11

St. James is the patron saint and protector of Spain. It is said that he miraculously appeared at the Battle of Clavijo in 846 A.D. to help the Christian troops of the Spanish king Ramirez defeat the Saracens. Ramirez had decided not to submit any longer to the Moor, Abdelraman, to whom he had been forced to pay an annual tribute of 100 virgins. Ramirez met the army of Abdelraman on the plain of Clavijo. At first, the Christians were driven back. Then St. James appeared at the head of the Spanish army riding a white charger. In this engraving, St. James, identified by the scallop shell on his hat, brandishes a sword as he inspires the Spaniards and resolutely leads them into battle. Only a few Moors stay to fight while the others turn and flee.

Schongauer never completed this plate. The large shield in the right foreground, the rump of the fallen horse at the bottom left, the points of the lances of the soldiers in the upper left corner, and the hills in the distance were left unfinished. This has led at least one writer to conclude that this engraving was Schongauer's last, left incomplete at his death.[1] The Spanish subject matter, however, as well as the sketchiness of the burin technique argue for an early date in Schongauer's career, during or just following his visit to Spain.

There is also evidence that the artist was immature, not yet fully capable of articulating human figures in motion. The Moorish soldier in the lower right corner, for example, places his feet awkwardly on the ground. He also grasps a cloth dangling from the saddle of a horse which appears in a totally different spatial plane. Moreover, clustered at the right of James's head are the heads of three soldiers; only one of them has a body and rides a horse. The other two, however, could not possibly fit into the given space. This kind of weakness of draftsmanship and organization, together with the uncharacteristic monogram, led Seidlitz to conjecture in 1884 that this engraving is not an authentic Schongauer but a piece done by an apprentice or imitator.[2] Burckhardt considered it a work by Schongauer's brother Ludwig.[3] Lehrs, swayed by his colleagues, dropped the engraving from Schongauer's *oeuvre* in 1892,[4] though he felt that it might have been engraved by a follower after a Schongauer drawing. It was totally omitted from consideration by Wendland,[5] and has been relegated ever since to the classification of "school piece." Recently, however, Flechsig has marshalled substantial evidence which, in the present writer's mind, convincingly restores this engraving to Schongauer's *oeuvre.*[6] To be sure, it is neither so well drawn nor so carefully organized as we expect Schongauer's work to be. Because of its apparent errors and lack of unity, however, Schongauer probably set the plate aside, never intending to print it. He was perhaps aware that the complex battle scene was too ambitious an undertaking for a youthful and inexperienced artist and that he had not been fully successful in realizing his vision. Only later did someone else add the Schongauer monogram and print the plate in its unfinished state. The plate must have been printed by about 1500, since the composition was copied in stained glass at Chalons-sur-Marne and elsewhere in the sixteenth century.[7]

Careful study of the print shows many points of contact with undisputed engravings of the early period. The facial types—that of the soldier at the extreme upper left, for example—are very close to those in the *Peasant Family* (cat. no. 34). The mounted soldier engaged in combat with a Moor at the left of the scene is an almost exact counterpart in reverse of the early *St. George* (cat. no. 43), while the drawing of the horses coincides with that in all the relevant early Schongauer engravings. The helmeted soldier with lowered lance directly behind St. James appears again as St. George in catalogue number 79. In preparing his work on this complex scene, Schongauer must have made numerous preliminary drawings which eventually served as models for other engravings.

When Schongauer later composed his great *Bearing of the Cross* (L.9), he undoubtedly had the composition of this engraving in mind. The *Bearing of the Cross* represents an improvement upon this composition. The foreground is given more emphasis, endowing the entire scene with greater stability. The figures are arranged in a more horizontal manner and move in and out of the space more convincingly.

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[1] *C. Goutzwiller,* Le Musée de Colmar: Martin Schongauer et son école, *2nd ed., Colmar, 1875, p. 70.*

[2] *W. von Seidlitz, "Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *VII, 1884, p. 175.*

[3] *D. Burckhardt,* Die Schule Martin Schongauers am Oberrhein, *Basel, 1888, pp. 82-83.*

[4] *Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XV, 1892, pp. 130-32.*

[5] *H. Wendland,* Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher, *Berlin, 1907.*

[6] *Flechsig,* Schongauer, *pp. 252-282. Ursula Petersen has claimed that the engraving is by Master AG (see cat. no. 122).*

[7] *Jeanne Cuenod, "Les Apparitions de Saint Jacques,"* Gazette des Beaux-Arts, *4th per., IV, 1910, pp. 297-302.*

43

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

Ca. 1470-75.
Lehrs V.259.58
Diameter: 84 mm.
Trimmed to the margin line

Provenance: G. Hamminger, Munich, Lugt 1159;
purchased from the Print Club, Philadelphia, 1930
B-2614

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 199; Baum,
Schongauer, p. 36, pl. 9

St. George was a Roman tribune who was born of Christian parents. According to legend, George was passing by chance through Selena in Lydia at a time when the countryside was being terrorized by a ferocious dragon. To appease the monster, human sacrifices were offered to him. The lot eventually fell to Princess Cleodolinda, the daughter of the king. Fortunately, St. George appeared at the decisive moment, and, making the sign of the Cross, engaged the dragon in combat, slew it, and saved the princess. All of the witnesses to this battle were converted to Christianity by this sign of the power of George's faith. In Schongauer's print, George wears fifteenth-century armor rather than a Roman uniform. The dragon has broken the lance but is about to be slain nevertheless by George's righteous sword.

The modeling and the treatment of landscape relate this engraving to the *Peasant Family* (cat. no. 34), and hence to the earliest group of Schongauer's engravings. The dragon recalls the lizard-like demon just to the right of St. Anthony in the *Tribulations of St. Anthony* (cat. no. 37), another of Schongauer's early works.

44

VIRGIN AND CHILD ON A GRASSY BENCH

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs. V.185.36
119 x 83 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2602

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 228; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 19

In this depiction of the Madonna and Child, the impact of Rogerian style is less evident than it is in Schongauer's earliest work (cf. cat. nos. 35-36). The sweet Madonna, the charming relationship of mother and infant, and the lyrical mood recall the work of Stephan Lochner and other Rhenish painters of the first half of the fifteenth century, such as the Master of the Paradise Garden.[1] This clearly illustrates that Schongauer, much as he learned from the Flemings, also inherited a particular strain of the Rhenish tradition, that which carried on the form and temper of the international style.

Schongauer's impulse toward compositional lucidity is seen here in germinal form. The Madonna is neatly separated from the background by a wattle fence. The background view itself is reduced to a few simple shapes. The sharp, chiseled rocks at the left predict the stark rock formations which will replace background scenery altogether in later works such as *The Crucifixion* (cat. no. 63).

45

ST. JOHN ON PATMOS

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs V.264.60
160 x 113 mm.

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971; Prince Ernst Saxe, Dublin; purchased from P. & D. Colnaghi, 1951
B-20,672

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 235; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 26

At the end of his life about 90 A.D., St. John was banished by the Emperor Domitian to the rocky island of Patmos where he wrote the *Apocalypse* or *Book of Revelations*. One of his visions on Patmos (*Revelations* 12:1) was of the Madonna clothed with the sun and standing on the moon, crowned by twelve stars on her head (cf. cat. no. 35). In the engraving, John looks up, startled by the miraculous apparition. He turns the pages of his book, anxious to record what he sees. John is accompanied by his attribute, the eagle.

The treatment of grass and plants accords with that in the *Entombment* (cat. no. 60), while the rock formations and the tree call to mind the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. no. 51). John's profile is a refined variation of the profile of Annas in catalogue no. 53. These connections with prints from Schongauer's Passion series suggest that this engraving was done about the same time, in the late 1470's.

46

THE CRUCIFIXION WITH FOUR ANGELS

Ca. 1475
Lehrs V.95.14
287 x 193 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head, close to Lehrs 32

Provenance: Purchased from E. A. Seasongood, 1951
B-20,670

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 231, 234; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 40, pl. 17

This large engraving seems to derive from two basic sources, the traditional German *Andachts-*

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[1] *The key work of this painter is reproduced in O. Fischer,* Geschichte der deutschen Malerei, *2nd ed., Munich, 1943, opp. p. 188.*

bild of the Crucifixion[1] and the fifteenth-century Flemish paintings which Schongauer had seen in the low countries. A solemn devotional image of the Crucifixion is superimposed upon a realistic landscape background with no attempt, either compositional or psychological, to relate them. The figure group, with the Madonna and St. John flanking the cross, occupies the immediate foreground. Behind the figures the land drops suddenly away. Christ's figure with its fluttering loincloth is placed high on the cross, imitative of Flemish paintings such as Roger van der Weyden's Vienna *Crucifixion.*[2] Four angels collect the blood which emits from Christ's wounds. At the foot of the cross are a skull and bone, allusions to Golgotha ("the place of the skull"), the name of the spot outside Jerusalem where Christ was crucified. There is also a legend that the Crucifixion occurred upon the very spot where Adam died and that his bones were found at the foot of the cross.

The delicate treatment of the scenery recalls the landscape background of the *Peasant Family* (cat. no. 34). The treatment of the cross, emphasizing its woody texture, also argues for a relatively early date in Schongauer's career, when he was concerned with the accurate presentation of observed fact.

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[1] *Compare, for example,* The Crucifixion *of Master E.S. (L.32) reproduced in Geisberg,* Der Meister E.S., *pl. 15.*

[2] *Reproduced in Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pl. X.*

47

ST. MARTIN DIVIDING HIS CLOAK

Ca. 1475
Lehrs V.271.62, undescribed second state
154 x 93 mm.
Watermark: Profile head, close to Lehrs 72

Provenance: Conte G. Archinto, Milan, Lugt 547; J. O. Entres, Munich, Lugt 2941; Freiherr von Lanna, Prague, Lugt 2773; P. Davidsohn, Berlin, Lugt 654; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2617

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 207, 306; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 63

St. Martin was a French soldier of the fourth century A.D. One day he happened to pass by a beggar who was clad only in rags. Martin was moved to cut his own cloak in two in order to share it with the poor man. On the following night, Christ appeared to Martin in a vision, saying, "What thou hast done for that poor man thou hast done for me." Soon afterward Martin was baptized. He later in life became Bishop of Tours.

This engraving was probably executed shortly after the four prints of the Life of the Virgin (cat. nos. 38-41). St. Martin's stance and his facial type, as well as his somewhat unruly curly hair recall the king in the middle of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 39). Martin's leg is modeled with similar short curving strokes. Furthermore, the sheen of Martin's velvet jacket is identical to the texture of the cloak of the kneeling magus in the *Adoration.*

This impression appears to represent an unrecorded second state, after the plate had been cropped about 15 mm. along the left side. In all other impressions known to this author, a considerable space separates the contour of Martin's drapery from the left margin line.

48

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE APPLE

Ca. 1475
Lehrs V.195.39
174 x 115 mm.

Provenance: H. Freiherr von Aufsess, Nuremberg, Lugt 2749; K. F. F. von Nagler, Berlin, Lugt 2529; Berlin print room, Lugt 1606; purchased from William Schab, 1947
B-14,152

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 225; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 20

The rich, sketchy character of the burin work as well as the irregular "saw-tooth" contour along the left side of the figure relate this *Madonna and Child* to the *St. Martin* (cat. no. 47) and to the *St. Agnes* and *St. John the Baptist* engravings (cat. nos. 49, 50). All four figures stand on a little mound of earth like sculptures on a pedestal. It is conceivable that the four prints were intended as part of a series of standing figures, never completed.

The drapery folds of the Madonna, especially those just below the Child, tend to be read as bulges on the surface of the form. This kind of drapery with ridge-like folds is also found in the Madonna of the *Crucifixion with Four Angels* (cat. no. 46), in the bald Apostle standing at the left of the *Death of the Virgin* (cat. no. 41), and in the drapery of the curly-haired king in number 39. We can thus place this print, along with cat. nos. 47, 49, and 50, among Schongauer's relatively early works.

49

ST. AGNES

Ca. 1475
Lehrs V.284.67, pl. 139, no. 377
152 x 104 mm.
Slight tear, lower margin near monogram

Provenance: Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 18
B-2621

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 238, 252; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 69

St. Agnes was a virgin martyr of fourth-century Rome. A Christian at birth, Agnes chose early to consecrate her life to her faith. She suffered martyrdom at the age of thirteen for refusing to marry the son of the prefect of Rome, a pagan. The manner of her martyrdom is uncertain, but one legend relates that a soldier struck off her head with a sword on the prefect's order. The name Agnes has a double derivation. It is related to the Greek word, agna, which means pure or chaste, and to agnus, or lamb. It is said that Agnes was so gentle that she was a personification of the lamb of God, Agnus Dei. The patron saint of young girls, Agnes is almost always accompanied by her attribute, the lamb.

Baum would date this work with Schongauer's late engravings of single figures (cat. nos. 112, 113), but we feel that it is technically and stylistically related to the two preceding entries and, generally, to Schongauer's early work. The modeling on the drapery is composed of random comma-shaped flicks, like the drapery of the early St. Anthony (cat. no. 37) or the bed linens in the *Death of the Virgin* (cat. no. 41)

50

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Ca. 1475
Lehrs V.261.59
156 x 107 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, close to Lehrs 60

Provenance: Hollstein and Puppel, Berlin, Auction 41 (Schloss "E" sale), May 6, 1929, no. 659; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2615

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 207, 306; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 68

John the Baptist is portrayed in Western art in one of two ways, either as a young playmate for the Christ Child or, as in this engraving, as an adult ascetic. He appears thin and wasted, clad in a cloak and animal skin which trails on the ground. On his book he holds the lamb of God, the symbol of Jesus. The comparison of Jesus and the lamb, the animal most commonly sacrificed in the Old Testament was made by the Baptist in the *Book of John* (1:29): "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world." In this engraving, John points at the lamb to show that his mission is primarily one of preparation. This shows that John is only a harbinger of what is to come, a precursor of Christ.

This type of John the Baptist, with unkempt hair and bare legs and feet, appears in the works of Roger van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle,[1] and it is not unlikely that Schongauer based his figure on a Flemish prototype. The uneven modeling, characteristic of Schongauer's early period, and the close relationship in type and posture to the magus in the center of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 39) suggest a date about 1475.

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[1] *See especially Roger's* Sacra Conversazione *and the Master of Flémalle's* Werl Altarpiece (*Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pls. XVIII, LVIII*).

51-62

TWELVE SCENES ILLUSTRATING CHRIST'S PASSION, CA. 1480

The final events of Christ's earthly life, from his entry into Jerusalem until his burial, are collectively referred to as the Passion. It was common for fifteenth-century engravers to create lengthy series of Passion subjects to be sold for didactic or devotional purposes.

In his Passion engravings, Schongauer temporarily abandoned the ceremonious style of Roger van der Weyden and Dirk Bouts. His Passion scenes are crowded and turbulent, and the physiognomies of Christ's tormentors are extremely gruesome. Schongauer must have felt that the "manicured" style of the Flemings, which he adopted in his early work, was inappropriate for the treatment of the violent and pathetic Passion subjects. He turned, therefore, to the inherent German tradition of expressive realism, the style of his German predecessors such as Hans Multscher or the Master of the Karlsruhe Passion, or a contemporary like Jan Polack. The twelve subjects, like only one other Schongauer print, the large *Bearing of the Cross* (L.9), are thus treated with the pathos, fervor, and energy demanded by the theme.

At the same time that Schongauer worked to express the acute drama of the Passion by crowding the scenes with agitated figures, he also exhibited a growing capacity to compose clearly and to emphasize the human figure at the expense of the environment and the accessory details. Compared with the prints from the Life of the Virgin series (cat. nos. 38-41), the figures become larger in proportion to the size of the page, are brought closer to the picture plane, and are set in the foreground like a frieze. Although the action is often violent and the faces of the figures are endowed with an almost grotesque rudeness, a sense of firm order is imposed through the restrictive placement of the figures, the way they are blocked and compressed in the foreground. In several of the scenes (cat. nos. 52, 53, 54, 58), there is a precise isocephalic arrangement of the figures, while in others the simple pyramid is an important compositional factor (cat. no. 60). The minimal background elements serve only to set the locale or to reinforce the compositional structure of the figure groups.

The clarity of the narrative is enhanced by the careful use of light and dark. In *Christ before Annas* (cat. no. 53), Christ's face stands out from the throng since it is an illuminated form placed against a densely hatched, dark background. The clothing of Annas, too, is scarcely modeled so that his figure clearly distinguishes itself from the richly modeled figures in the background. Thus, the confrontation of the two major figures is clear despite the fact that the stage is densely packed with forms. Similarly, in *The Entombment* (cat. no. 60) the figures of St. John and the Virgin on the near side of the sarcophagus are spotlighted against the group in shadow on the far side. The rock formation repeats and reinforces the basic vertical and horizontal lines of the composition.

One scholar, Günther Fiensch, has recently attempted to arrange the twelve prints of the Passion series in chronological order, even though all twelve were probably created within a brief span of time.[1] Because Schongauer's work develops generally from pictorial complexity toward lucidity and simplicity of composition, and because Schongauer's later works tend to avoid the use of background scenery, Fiensch claims that the Passion scenes were not necessarily created in their narrative order. He postulates that the *Agony in the Garden* (cat. no. 51) and the *Resurrection* (cat. no. 62), for example, were among the first of the series to be engraved since they exhibit considerable spatial recession and contain a number of landscape elements. Fiensch places *The Betrayal* (cat. no. 52) and *Christ before Annas* (cat. no. 53) among the last prints of the series since the compositions in these prints are flattened and background details are reduced to a minimum. Fiensch goes too far and arbitrarily imposes a strict system on the twelve engravings by assuming that Schongauer relentlessly and inflexibly pursued the goal of compositional simplicity. It seems to the present writer that Schongauer carefully planned the twelve Passion prints before he began work and that there is no reason to assume that the plates were not executed in their narrative order. We can trace individual figures through the series from one print to the next. In *The Betrayal* (cat. no. 52), for example, Christ is led out of the garden on a rope by a figure with a goatee who wears a turban and a doublet which is richly decorated with frills along the hem and sleeve. His legs are bare but he wears soft white boots. The same man still holds the rope as Christ is presented to Annas (cat. no. 53). He is also the foremost figure in the crowd of spectators in the *Ecce Homo* (cat. no. 56), with the rope now slung over his shoulder. In his right hand he holds a hammer, indicating that he will be the one to nail Christ to the cross. In the *Christ Before Pilate* (cat. no. 57), our man turns his back to us and we see that he has put the hammer through his belt. With his right hand he once again grasps the rope which is now tied around Christ's waist. Finally, in *The Bearing of the Cross* (cat. no. 58), it is he who tugs at Christ's rope as he trots out of the picture space at the right, clutching the three nails in his left hand. He thus repeats the role and even the compositional placement he occupied in *The Betrayal* (cat. no. 52). It is clear from this example that Schongauer conceived the Passion series as a continuous unified narrative. This would place in question Fiensch's theory that the twelve prints were created in a haphazard order.

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1. Günther Fiensch, "Versuch die Kupferstichpassion Martin Schongauers zeitlich zu ordnen," Festschrift Werner Hager, *Recklinghausen, 1966, pp. 44-53.*

51

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

Lehrs V.122.19
164 x 114 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-43

52

THE BETRAYAL AND CAPTURE OF CHRIST

Lehrs V.128.20
163 x 115 mm.
Watermark: Fragment of letter d

Provenance: Henry Brodhurst, Mansfield, England, Lugt 1296; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2592

53

CHRIST BEFORE ANNAS

Lehrs V.132.21
161 x 114 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-45

54

THE FLAGELLATION

Lehrs V.136.22
165 x 117 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-46

55

CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS

Lehrs V.139.23
164 x 114 mm.
Watermark: Profile head, close to Lehrs 72, 73

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-47

56

ECCE HOMO

Lehrs V.145.25
163 x 114 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-49

57

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE

Lehrs V.141.24
163 x 116 mm.
Watermark: D with St. Anthony's Cross

Provenance: Dr. G. Güttler, Lugt 2807b;
purchased from Oskar Stoessel, 1940
B-2595

58

THE BEARING OF THE CROSS WITH ST. VERONICA

Lehrs V.147.26
164 x 117 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-50

59

THE CRUCIFIXION

Lehrs V.151.27
165 x 116 mm.

Provenance: P. Davidsohn, Berlin, Lugt 654; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2597

60

THE ENTOMBMENT

Lehrs V.155.28
163 x 115 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with Anthony's cross

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-52

The composition appears to reflect that of Dirk Bouts's *Entombment* in the National Gallery, London (Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, III, pl. VII).

61

CHRIST IN LIMBO

Lehrs V.160.29
164 x 116 mm.
Small tears on upper left edge

Provenance: Purchased
from Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2599

62

THE RESURRECTION

Lehrs V.162.30
162 x 114 mm.
Watermark: Small bull's head with St. Anthony's cross, close to Lehrs 35

Provenance: Dr. G. Güttler, Lugt 2807b; purchased from Charles G. Childs, Boston, 1956
B-22,139

63

THE CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1480
Lehrs V.92.13
191 x 151 mm.

Provenance: John Malcolm, London, Lugt 1489; British Museum duplicate, Lugt 305, 1780; purchased at Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 5

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 229-31; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 40, pl. 18

The effective composition of this handsome engraving is so similar to that of the *Crucifixion* in the Passion series (cat. no. 59) that both works must have been done about the same time. The figures of Christ are almost identical. Furthermore, the groups at either side of the cross in both prints find a compositional echo in the highly abstracted and simplified shapes of the background. In this print, the Madonna and St. John with two attendant women appear at the left of the cross while the Roman soldiers throwing dice for Christ's robe appear at the right. The background is even more limited than it was in the earlier *Crucifixion*. Its starkness calls to mind Italian trecento painting, such as the scenes from Duccio's *Maesta*. Other evidence that this engraving dates from the same time as the Passion series is the figure at the lower right which assumes the same position and pose as Malchus in *The Betrayal* (cat. no. 52). The grotesque faces of the soldiers at the right are also close to the faces of the tormentors in *The Flagellation* (cat. no. 54) and *Christ Before Pilate* (cat. no. 57).

64

THE ANNUNCIATION

Ca. 1480
Lehrs V.39.1
162 x 112 mm.
Repaired tear, top center

Provenance: Earl of Northwick, Northwick Park, Lugt 2709a; Gabriel Cognacq, Paris, Lugt 538d; purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,668

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 234, 312; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 42, pl. 41

Schongauer's *Annunciation* conforms in almost all respects to the traditional iconography of this subject (as described in Luke 1:26 ff.). The Archangel Gabriel comes to the Virgin bearing the scepter which identifies him as God's messenger. The lily in the foreground is a symbol of the Virgin's purity. The Virgin's reading is interrupted by the angel's arrival and his pronouncement: "Ave Maria Gracia Plena." According to the teachings of the Church Fathers, Mary was reading Isaiah's prediction of the virgin birth at the very moment the angel appeared. Above, we see God the Father surrounded by radiant light, and the Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove.

The treatment of drapery is similar to that in the Passion series. The Madonna's drapery is comparable to that of St. John in *The Entombment* (cat. no. 60) in the character of both the folds and the modeling strokes. The use of a wall to limit movement into depth, as well as the use of rather dark background hatching against which the figures are set off as lighter forms, also accords with compositional ideas first expressed by Schongauer in the Passion prints. We can thus place this engraving in the same period, about 1480. The composition was copied by the painter of the wing of an altarpiece dated 1484 in Feuchtwangen[1] and by the engraver Wenzel von Olmütz in 1485.

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[1] *Reproduced in* Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, *I, 1908, p. 1104, fig. 2.*

65

THE SMALL MADONNA AND CHILD

Ca. 1480
Lehrs V.179.35
86 x 61 mm.

Provenance: Rev. John Griffith, Oxford, Lugt 1464; John Malcolm, London, Lugt 1489; British Museum duplicate, Lugt 302, 305; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1944
B-4817

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 224, 236; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, p. 42

Wendland compares this engraving to the relatively early Schongauer standing *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 48) to point up Schongauer's development from his early to his middle period.[1] In the earlier engraving the hatching is open and without system, and the individual strokes —little pecks and dots—are random in direction. The figure tapers off to a narrow unstable base and appears to waver, as if unanchored. In the *Small Madonna*, there is a careful balance of light and dark and the modeling is largely accomplished by uniform delicate strokes. Broad planes of white contrast with dark areas of closed, systematic hatching. This effect is somewhat disturbed in this particular impression because the plate was over-inked and poorly printed. The body, none the less, exists convincingly under the folds and stands firmly on the ground. The solidity of Schongauer's single figures becomes even more pronounced in his later work (cf. cat. nos. 101-104, 115).

Alfred Schmid has correctly pointed out that Dürer used this engraving as the model for his *Madonna on the Crescent* (B.30, Meder 29).[2]

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[1] *H. Wendland,* Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher, *Berlin, 1907, pp. 20-21.*

[2] *Alfred Schmid, "Copien nach Kupferstichen von Schongauer,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XV, 1892, p. 22.*

66

ST. ANTHONY

Ca. 1480
Lehrs V.240.53
88 x 62 mm.

Provenance: W. Esdaile, London, Lugt 2617; D. G. de Arozarena, Lugt 109; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; Clendenin J. Ryan Sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 9
B-2610

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 224, 236; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 57

St. Anthony is represented as an old bearded man in a monk's habit, since he is said to have founded monachism. He carries a patriarchal cross and a crutch as a symbol of both his old age and the feebleness which resulted from his years of isolation and self-denial. One of his great trials during his years of solitude is depicted by Schongauer in an early work (cat. no. 37). The bell usually suspended from his cross or crutch is the common symbol of hermits, who used it to frighten and repulse demons who frequently attacked the hermits in their solitude. The pig, Anthony's inseparable companion, symbolizes the demon of sensuality and gluttony. St. Anthony was believed to have the power of exorcizing demons and evil spirits, and the pig represents his triumph over sin and the lure of sensual pleasure. It is also claimed that Anthony's pig is only a friendly pet and in no way a personification of the Devil. The symbolic identification of the pig and St. Anthony may be due to the efficacious use of lard as a remedy for the disease known as St. Anthony's fire. Anthony was the protector of the nearby Isenheim Cloister.

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1. *Hain *14510; Fol. 105v., 112v., 133r., 147r., 164r., 198v., 212v.*

67

A BISHOP

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.250.55
89 x 61 mm.

Provenance: Atherton Curtis, Paris; Gutekunst und Klipstein, Bern, Auction 78, April 28, 1955, no. 139
B-20,009

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 224, 236-38, 252; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 60

Although there are no clues to the identity of this bishop, Lehrs concluded that he is St. Augustine, since Augustine's attribute, the heart pierced by arrows, appears in the second state of Wenzel von Olmütz' copy of this engraving. Flechsig, on the other hand, has suggested that any unidentified bishop engraved by Schongauer must have been intended as St. Martin, since Martin is the patron saint of Colmar as well as Schongauer's namesake. It is also possible, however, that Schongauer had no particular saint in mind, but was merely making a small engraving to serve as a general model for artisans. Indeed, a crude woodcut copy of this engraving, reducing the figure to bust length, appears in the German edition of Schedel's *Weltchronik* (The Nuremberg Chronicle) no less than seven times, identified each time as a different saint.[1]

Flechsig claims with reason that this engraving is a pendant to the *St. Anthony* (cat. no. 66). The two prints are similar in size, while the horizontal line indicating the floor is at the same level in both. The shadows of the figures are also handled in similar fashion. If Flechsig is correct that the present engraving represents St. Martin, this pair of prints would represent two saints especially venerated in Upper Alsace. While Martin was the patron saint of Colmar,

68-73

SIX ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, CA. 1480

This series of small engravings probably dates from about 1480 or slightly earlier and shows Schongauer's further development toward simplification of form. The individual figures are isolated against a bare background. Although there are still traces of the hook-shaped modeling of the early period (see cat. no. 71), the drapery falls into simple patterns and powerfully suggests that a human figure exists underneath. The volumetric clarity of these figures (esp. cat. no. 70) predicts the achievement of Dürer in his late painting of the *Four Apostles* in Munich and points out that there existed in German art before Dürer a tendency toward simple monumentality and unity of form. Several of Schongauer's Apostles were copied on the baptismal font dated 1481, in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna, providing a definite *terminus ante quem* for this series of engravings.

68

ST. JUDAS THADDAEUS

Lehrs V.223.47
90 x 44 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2608

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 207, 291, 306; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 42, pls. 45-56

There is some disagreement in the literature about the identification of the Apostle represented in this engraving. Bartsch (VI.137.42), Baum, and Flechsig were probably correct in calling him Judas Thaddaeus, whereas Lehrs erroneously identified him as St. James the Less. The club is commonly the attribute of Judas Thaddaeus, while James the Less is normally identified by a fuller's club or bat. Fifteenth-century engravers frequently confused the Apostles' attributes (see Meckenem's Apostle Series, cat. nos. 162-71).

69

ST. PHILIP

Lehrs V.225.48
91 x 50 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1957
B-22,585

In the fifteenth century, St. Philip is usually identified by a Latin cross attached to the top of a long staff.

70

ST. SIMON

Lehrs V.232.51
89 x 49 mm.

Provenance: A. Donnadieu, London, Lugt 724; Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels, Lugt 567; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2609

St. Simon usually carries a book, an indication that he was largely responsible for promulgating the teachings of the Gospels. After the fourteenth century, Simon is also often shown with a saw, in accord with the late medieval legend that he was martyred by being sawn asunder.

71

ST. JOHN

Lehrs V.218.45
92 x 51 mm.

Provenance: W. G. Russell Allen, Boston
B-37

John the Evangelist is identified by his attribute, the chalice with a serpent. See catalogue number 26.

72

ST. THOMAS

Lehrs V.220.46
90 x 51 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2607

A frequent attribute of St. Thomas is the lance. Thomas went to India where he established the Christian Church. According to one story, he traveled to Upper India where he converted and baptised the wife of an Indian King, Misdai. The king was outraged and had Thomas killed by the thrust of a lance.

73

ST. PAUL

Lehrs V.209.42
92 x 44 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2605

Paul appears in pre-fifteenth-century works of art holding a book, symbolic of his role in spreading the Gospels. After the fourteenth century he is given the additional attribute of a sword, the instrument of his martyrdom.

74

THE NATIVITY

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.46.4
159 x 152 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with staff and star, close to Briquet 15,054

Provenance: British Museum duplicate, Lugt 300, 305; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1943
B-4389

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 233, 250; Baum, *Schongauer* p. 41, pl. 21

This *Nativity* of Schongauer's mature period can be profitably compared with the artist's earlier version of the same subject (cat. no. 38). It illustrates Schongauer's increasing tendency to limit and minimize pictorial elements in order to achieve greater harmony and compositional simplicity. The most striking feature of the earlier work is the elaboration of the environment in which the scene occurs: the Gothic vault and ivy-covered wall with its massive blocks. Joseph is given the greatest compositional prominence, even though he is only a spectator and does nothing more than hold a lantern. In the present engraving, Joseph is moved into the background. We see him on the left, returning to the stable after having found a midwife. The figures of the Madonna and Child are moved closer to us so that they dominate the scene. The Child, almost irrelevant in the earlier work, is framed by a bed of straw which serves as a kind of halo, suggesting a radiance around Him. The composition is extremely rational. The diagonal poles of the hut intersect just behind the Madonna's halo, calling attention to her face and repeating the diagonal of her crossed arms. The back of the donkey is a firm compositional line and plays a role in the overall lucidity of the composition. And, just as the composition is more precise, so the hatching lines are straighter and more schematic.

75

CHRIST BLESSING THE VIRGIN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.114.18
159 x 153 mm.

Provenance: Berlin Museum duplicate, Lugt 1606; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2590

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 233, 252; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 24

The subject of this print is almost identical to that of the little roundel by Master E.S. (cat. no. 4), showing Christ receiving Mary into Heaven and blessing her. Schongauer's formal, dignified style and his elegant, cultivated types are all the more striking when compared to the ingenuous style and peasant-like figures of E.S. The self-conscious balance and decorum of the Schongauer print also present a striking contrast to the more personal and less formal composition of E.S.

This Schongauer engraving is organized according to an especially strict geometrical plan. Square pillars enframe the scene at left and right. The two enormous halos are compositionally joined by the arc at the back of the throne. The arc-shape is repeated below in the semicircular shape of the pedestal. Even the group of adoring angels is neatly centered between Christ and Mary, the middle angel placed on the central vertical axis of the picture.

76

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.66.8
159 x 158 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with St. Anthony's Cross

Provenance: Conte G. Archinto, Milan; Graf Yorck van Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 81; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1939
B-2586

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 233, 250, 289; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 27

Schongauer's *Baptism*, like the engraving by Master E.S. upon which it is apparently based (L.29),[1] is a faithful illustration of the episode of Christ's Baptism as described by Matthew (3:13-17). John blesses Jesus who stands in the Jordan clad only in a loincloth. Above, the heavens open and the Spirit of God descends in the form of a dove, while God the Father looks down approvingly at His Son. On the right shore an attendant angel waits with Christ's robe.

This engraving and the following one are among Schongauer's most beautifully balanced compositions and appear—from their common size, format, and spirit—to have been conceived as part of a series of the Life of Christ which may also have included *The Nativity* (cat. no. 74).

The fluency of the outlines is combined with a highly efficacious use of systematic modeling which creates plastic form. Comparison of this figure of Christ with those in earlier Schongauer engravings (cat. nos. 46, 63) shows how three-dimensionally the nude body is now conceived. The modeling strokes on the neck, upper chest, torso, and leg define muscles and bone structure and emphasize the body's solidity. Although the faces adhere to the somewhat sweet, adolescent type characteristic of all of Schongauer's figures after about 1475, the drawing of the torso and leg implies that Schongauer, unlike all of his German predecessors, had done some work from a live human model.

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1. Reproduced in Geisberg, Der Meister E.S., *pl. 44.*

77

CHRIST APPEARING TO MARY MAGDALENE

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.102.15
158 x 156 mm.

Provenance: H. A. Cornill-d'Orville, Frankfurt, Lugt 529; Atherton Curtis, Paris, Lugt 94; purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-22,306

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 233, 251, 308; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 41, pl. 28

According to the Gospels of Mark (16:9) and John (20:11-18), the Resurrected Christ first appeared to Mary Magdalene. The Magdalene had come to anoint Him and, finding Christ's body missing, believed that He had been taken from the tomb. As she began to weep, Jesus appeared. The Magdalene did not recognize Him, but believed that He was the gardener. When Jesus made Himself known He said, "Touch me not (Noli me tangere), but go to my brethren and say to them, I am ascending to my Father."

Flechsig dates this engraving before 1477 since there exists an anonymous copy of it dated in that year.[1] The copy, a crude Lower Rhenish engraving, was introduced into the literature by Galichon in one of the first essays on Schongauer ever published.[2] Lehrs has pointed out, however, that the date 1477 appears only on the second state of the copy and was probably added by a later hand with the intent of misleading.[3] Certainly, the character of Schongauer's engraving belies so early a date. The simplicity and exquisiteness of form and the graceful balance of the composition argue for a later date, probably in the midst of Schongauer's mature period, between 1480 and 1490.

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1. Flechsig, Schongauer, *p. 308.*

2. Emile Galichon, "Martin Schongauer, Peintre et Graveur du XV. Siècle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, *III, 1859, p. 331.*

3. Lehrs, Kritischer Katalog, *V, pp. 104-05, no. 15b.*

78

ST. GEORGE

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.255.57
58 x 75 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1943
B-2613

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 226, 247, 315; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 59

The legend of St. George is discussed under catalogue number 43. Schongauer probably based the motif of St. George with his lance lowered on a figure in his own early *Battle of Clavijo* (cat. no. 42), the soldier directly behind St. James whose lance pierces the chest of an enemy soldier.

Flechsig senses a connection between the drawing of the figures here with that of the diminutive group of grieving figures in the background of the *Bearing of the Cross* (L.9), and thus places this print early in Schongauer's career. We feel, however, that the advanced modeling, the fluent draftsmanship, and the severe reduction of compositional elements argue for a later date.

79

APPRENTICES FIGHTING

Ca. 1480 (?)
Lehrs V.325.87
56 x 72 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1939
B-2632

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 82, 219; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 73

This tiny engraving of two apprentices playfully scuffling and pulling at each other's hair is often cited as evidence of Schongauer's early training in a goldsmith's workshop. One of the fellows waves a pair of tongs. To his right are a crucible and bellows, necessary equipment in a goldsmith's atelier. The faces of the two youths are like those of older men. They also resemble that of the child in the *Peasant Family* (cat. no. 34), which may indicate an early date in Schongauer's career.

80

ST. VERONICA

Ca. 1480
Lehrs V.296.71
89 x 61 mm.

Provenance: Hollstein und Puppel, Berlin, Auction 42, Oct. 3, 1929, no. 838; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2624

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 219; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 67

According to a late medieval legend, a holy woman named Veronica compassionately wiped the sweat from Christ's face as he bore the cross to Calvary. Miraculously, the features of Christ became imprinted on her kerchief or sudarium (cf. cat. no. 58). Veronica's name is derived from the words *vera icon*, or true image.

Lehrs has pointed out that the *St. Veronica* of Master E.S. (L.172) may have inspired this engraving by Schongauer. It is also vaguely reminiscent of the painting of Veronica by the Master of Flémalle in Frankfurt[1] in pose, type, and costume, an indication that Schongauer may have been influenced by some Netherlandish source.

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[1] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pl. LIII.*

81

ST. CHRISTOPHER

Ca. 1475-1480
Lehrs V.252.56
159 x 112 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2612

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 235, 285-88; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 48

St. Christopher, whose name in Greek means "Christ-carrier," was not a real historical personality, but the hero of a fable which became popular in the late middle ages through the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. The story tells that Christopher, a giant, wished to serve the most powerful king in the world. On the advice of a hermit, he decided to devote his life to Christ. He offered to transport pilgrims and travelers across a dangerous river which he himself could easily ford because of his immense size. One night, a child asked to be carried across the river on Christopher's shoulder. As Christopher carried him, the waters suddenly became turbulent and the child became an almost intolerably heavy burden. It was with the most strenuous effort that Christopher reached the far bank, to which the hermit was guiding him with a lantern. When they finally reached the shore, Christopher exclaimed that had he carried the entire weight of the world upon his shoulders it could not have been a more difficult task. At this point, the child revealed himself as Christ, the powerful sovereign whom Christopher had wished to serve. To prove his identity, the child told Christopher to plant his staff in the earth. It immediately blossomed into a date palm. Due to this legend Christopher has become the patron saint of travelers.

Though Baum and Flechsig place this engraving among Schongauer's late works, Lehrs feels that it must pre-date 1476, since the lily in the lower right corner appears to have been copied by the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations in an engraving intended for the 1476 Bruges edition of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum et Mulierum.*[1] Flechsig claims, however, that the lilies in the two prints have no more in common than any two lilies and that, furthermore, the engravings in the Bruges book were probably not done until well after 1476. In all fairness to Lehrs, we must point out that the two lilies are quite similar, though the one is not slavishly copied from the other. Furthermore, it is evident that the *St. Christopher* does not share the simple contours or the composure of feeling or composition found in the late Schongauer engravings of individual saints (cat. nos. 112, 113). Indeed, several affinities exist with the *St. John on Patmos* (cat. no. 45), which we have dated about 1475-80. The drapery is handled with a similar mixture of free, open hatching and patches of linear networks. The description of the turf-covered rock formations on the shore as well as the suggestion of water through the use of horizontal strokes of varying lengths are also the same in both prints. We must thus agree with Lehrs and place this print earlier than does the more recent scholarship.

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1. L.5, The Flight of Fortune and Poverty, *reproduced in Hollstein, XII, p. 120 and in Lehrs,* Tafelband *IV, pl. 119, no. 343.*

82

ST. SEBASTIAN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.280.65
158 x 113 mm.
Watermark: Small bull's head with St. Anthony's cross

Provenance: Dr. G. Güttler, Bavaria, Lugt 2807b; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 17
B-2619

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 235; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 66

The story of St. Sebastian is discussed under cat. no. 6. In the present engraving the figure of Sebastian has been isolated from the narrative context so that we are forced to concentrate on him and on his suffering. Because Schongauer was creating a devotional image intended to elicit pity and pious thoughts, he may have felt it necessary to work in a Gothic style rather than the more "classical" style toward which he had been developing. In this engraving, there is an emphasis on restless linear movement. The tree, like a piece of taffy, is twisted behind Sebastian's body into a spiral shape which is answered by the counter-curve of Sebastian's form. Great attention is paid to the irregular folds of the fluttering loincloth and to the thin jagged branchings of the tree. Although the nude figure is handled with some sophistication, we are reminded of the stylized nudes of Master E.S., pinched above the waist and with lumpy, irregular contours.

83

ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.294.70
149 x 100 mm.

Provenance: Fürst Waldburg-Wolfegg, Lugt 2542; purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,671

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 220-21; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 71

St. Catherine, according to the *Golden Legend*, was a princess of Alexandria in Egypt who converted to Christianity and dedicated her life to preaching the Christian faith. One story tells that Christ appeared to Catherine in a dream and took her as His wife. He placed a ring on her finger which the saint later found when she awoke.

Another story connected with Catherine is her debate with fifty philosophers assembled by the Emperor Maximian to refute Catherine's teachings. Catherine, assisted by an angel, presented such fine arguments and emerged so thoroughly victorious that the fifty philosophers were persuaded to convert. The dumfounded Emperor ordered that the philosophers be burned at the stake. He also ordered that a machine be constructed of four wheels fitted with spikes and blades so that Catherine could be torn to death. As the sentence was being carried out, however, an angel appeared and a great burst of flame from heaven destroyed the wheels. Seeing this, Maximian decapitated Catherine. In place of blood, milk flowed from her wounds.

In Schongauer's engraving, Catherine holds the sword, instrument of her martyrdom. At her feet is her unmistakeable attribute, the spiked wheel.

84

ST. MICHAEL SLAYING THE DRAGON

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.273.63
161 x 112 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2618

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 235, 252; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 64

Michael is not a saint, strictly speaking, but one of the archangels. He is usually depicted in his role as captain of the hosts of heaven, the leader of the battle against Satan and the rebellious angels. He is also the angel in scenes of the Last Judgment who weighs souls to determine if they are saved or damned. In this scene by Schongauer, Michael slays Satan, the great dragon or serpent, according to the description in Revelations 12:7-9. Because of his combative role in the expulsion of Satan from heaven, Michael became the protector of the Church Militant on earth and is sometimes portrayed in the uniform of a crusader.

Despite the complex drapery folds of St. Michael and the spiky, vermicular forms of the dragon, the total impression is one of unity. The drapery is inscribed in simple, flowing contours, and Michael's beautiful wings are described by graceful, rhythmic lines. The linear fluency, the subservience of hatching to the function of modeling plastic form, and the way the figure is articulated under the drapery recall the handsome scenes of *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene* (cat. no. 77) and *The Baptism* (cat. no. 76). St. Michael's drapery is very similar to that of the attendant angel in *The Baptism*.

85

ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.292.69
99 x 55 mm.

Provenance: Hollstein and Puppel, Berlin, Auction 41 (Schloss E), May 6, 1929, no. 661; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2623
References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 212, 220; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 70

In addition to her usual attributes of sword and spiked wheel, the St. Catherine in this engraving holds a book in a sack or book-bag. The book is an allusion to Catherine's scientific study of the Christian faith and her desire to spread the word of the Gospels.

The size and style of this print relates it directly to the *St. Barbara* (cat. no. 86), and there is no doubt that the two were conceived as part of a series which Schongauer never completed.[1]

86

ST. BARBARA

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.287.68
100 x 61 mm.

Provenance: Hollstein and Puppel, Berlin, Dec. 6, 1929, no. 837; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2622

References: Fleschsig, *Schongauer*, p. 220; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 72

St. Barbara was the daughter of a wealthy heathen, a tyrant who kept his daughter imprisoned in a tower. Barbara, however, secretly arranged to be visited by a Christian disciple and she was eventually converted to Christianity. Outraged by Barbara's disobedience, her father struck off her head. Barbara is always represented with her attribute, the tower in which she was imprisoned. This engraving is closely related to *St. Catherine* (cat. no. 85).

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[1] *R. Forrer, in "Un dessin de vièrge sage de Martin Schongauer,"* Archives Alsaciennes, *I, 1922, p. 30, suggests that the two engravings were intended for a series of Alsatian saints. Since Barbara and Catherine are venerated universally, Forrer's idea would seem totally unfounded.*

87

THE ELEPHANT

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.339.94
107 x 146 mm.

Provenance: Mrs. M. J. Morgan, New York, Lugt 1879; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 33
B-11,165

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 75-79, 232, 310; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 79

There are only two known representations of elephants in fifteenth-century German engraving, this one and an inept variation of it by Schongauer's brother, Ludwig. The print by Ludwig (Lehrs VI.63.4) survives only in a mediocre impression in the Albertina, Vienna.[1] Until recently, no explanation could be given for the appearance of an elephant in German art of this period. The ornamental stylization of the trunk and ear led most scholars to conclude that Schongauer had never seen a real elephant, but drew it from a second-hand description or copied it with liberal changes from some Eastern manuscript painting. Flechsig adduces evidence, however, that an elephant was brought to Germany in 1483 and was probably taken from town to town to be displayed as a curiosity. A letter dated July 31, 1483 was sent by Margrave Albrecht von Baden from Innsbruck to Frankfurt, asking the city officials of Frankfurt to admit a certain Hans Filshover and his "helffandt."[2] A reply is recorded on September 9, 1483 in the record book of the Frankfurt burgermeister, giving Filshover permission to bring his elephant to the city.

In 1483, Ludwig Schongauer was a resident of Ulm,[3] and there is evidence that Martin was also in Ulm in 1482/83.[4] From Ulm, Schongauer apparently went to Augsburg where Thoman Burgkmair painted his portrait of 1483 which now hangs in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. Augsburg and Ulm are on the direct route from Innsbruck to Frankfurt. Filshover and his elephant must have passed through one or both of these Swabian cities en route. The Schongauer brothers probably heard about this unique event if they did not themselves witness it. Although the ear and trunk of Martin's elephant are highly stylized, the bulky rump and legs of the animal appear to have been observed from a live model.

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[1] *Reproduced in Flechsig,* Schongauer, *opp. p. 72 and in Lehrs,* Tafelband *VI, pl. 150, no. 399.*

[2] *The original letter has unfortunately been lost, but it is reproduced in H. Grotefend,* Quellen zur Frankfurter Geschichte, *I, Frankfurt, 1884, p. 444.*

[3] *He became a citizen of Ulm in 1479 and did not leave the city until 1486. See M. Bach, "Schongauerstudien,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XVIII, 1895, p. 256.*

[4] *There exists in the city archives of Ulm a letter of 1482 from Konrat von Bondorf to a nun, Clara von Riethain, which states that the painter, Martin, came to Ulm in that year. See Baum,* Schongauer, *p. 21 and p. 68, document 14.*

88

THE GRIFFIN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.337.93
101 x 96 mm. (cropped about 20 mm. at both sides)
Watermark: Fragment of Gothic P with flower

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1951
B-19,262

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 232; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 78

The griffin, a mythological creature, appeared originally in the art of ancient Egypt and Assyria. It usually has the head and wings of an eagle and the body of a lion, though Schongauer's version has dog-like ears and rear legs which are curiously bovine in appearance. In some medieval sculpture, the griffin is an incarnation of Satan, but just as often it is merely intended as a grotesquerie or heraldic emblem.

89

FAMILY OF PIGS

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.335.91
66 x 94 mm.

Provenance: A. Morrison, London, Lugt 151; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2634

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, p. 219; Baum, *Schongauer*, pl. 76

At one time considered to be a playing card or a model for goldsmiths,[1] this engraving probably merely represents a group of pigs which Schongauer had observed and which he engraved for the pleasure or amusement it afforded him. The same species of swine appears in Dürer's engraving, *The Prodigal Son* (Meder 28), done about 1496. Several of Dürer's little pigs appear to have been inspired by Schongauer's print.

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[1] *A. von Wurzbach, Martin Schongauer, Vienna, 1880, p. 114.*

90-97

EIGHT ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF COATS OF ARMS, CA. 1480-90

Lehrs suggested that the engravings of this series were intended as models for goldsmiths, but Flechsig more recently proposed that they were done by Schongauer on the order of wealthy burghers of the emerging middle class who were proud of their new place in society and wanted to establish family crests rivalling those of the traditional nobility. These engraved emblems might have been used as we use calling cards today. It has also been suggested that they were pasted in book covers as "ex libris" plates. By the fifteenth century it was common for the coat of arms to be accompanied by a protective angel (cat. no. 90) or by the lord or lady of the family. Many crests are also accompanied by so-called wild men or wild women, imaginary creatures, part human and part animal, who were an important part of medieval folklore.

Wild men appear persistently in the art and literature of the late middle ages.[1] They are usually completely covered with hair or foliage and they often wield a mace or club. They are said to have inhabited the most remote recesses of the forest where they shunned human contact and lived lives of bestial self-indulgence. Their hairiness, like that of Samson, was probably equated with physical prowess. It was said that no animal was a match for the brute strength of the wild men. Numerous carvings and tapestries show the wild man struggling with lions, dragons, and even unicorns, but always emerging victorious.

Occasionally, these wild men came out of seclusion and reportedly attacked villages. They were supposed to have a craving for the flesh of children, and many mothers, to frighten their children into behaving, told them fantastic "wild man" tales. In many sections of Europe, especially Switzerland, Austria, and southern Germany, annual pageants or dramatic performances were held in which an actor in mask and costume played the part of the lustful wild man who was symbolically destroyed by the villagers.[2]

By the end of the fifteenth century, fear of the wild man was replaced by a kind of envy of his happy life in the woods. The urban growth of this period led to a nostalgic, or even escapist interest in nature and in folklore, and there developed a more sympathetic attitude toward wild men, though belief in their existence clearly persisted. A carved wooden casket of about 1500 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,[3] depicts wild men and women engaged in the pleasures of free love-making, the adventures of the hunt, and the bliss of congenial relationships with each other. The wild people were seen, in short, as living a natural life unfettered by the restrictions of city life.

The wild man appears frequently on fifteenth-century stove tiles, candlesticks, house and tavern signs, and even in the borders of illuminated manuscripts and on carved choir stalls. They are also found in early engravings, the playing cards of the Master of the Playing Cards[4] and in several prints by Master E.S. (see cat. no. 15). They also appear in the coats of arms of families and cities. Wild men are incorporated into the heraldic devices of Lucerne and Winterthur in Switzerland and Hannover in northern Germany, while the wild man by himself is the emblem of over 200 European families.[5] The choice of the wild man as a symbol may have been inspired by the desire to announce the abnormal strength or even the fecundity of the family.

Many European families also have their

heraldic emblem guarded or supported by a wild man.[6] In Jean Fouquet's *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, for example, a wild woman supports Etienne's coat of arms. In cases like this, the wild man or woman serves a talismanic function, serving, because of his superhuman strength, as a protector or defender of the escutcheon. It is in this role that we find the wild men of Martin Schongauer.

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[1] *The basic study of the wild man iconography is Richard Bernheimer,* Wild Men in the Middle Ages, *Cambridge (Mass.), 1952; in 1963 the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg held an exhibition entitled* Die Wilden Leute des Mittelalters, *in which were assembled some 112 medieval tapestries, sculptures, prints, and book illustrations of wild men and their activities.*

[2] *Pieter Brueghel's woodcut,* Play of the Death of the Wild Man *(Hollstein, III, p. 305), depicts such performance.*

[3] *See Friedrich Rupp, "Ein deutsches Minnekästchen der Spätgotik,"* Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, *L, 1953, pp. 107-120.*

[4] *Reproduced in M. Geisberg,* Das älteste deutsche Kartenspiel vom Meister der Spielkarten, *Strassburg, 1905, pl. 1.*

[5] *J. Siebmacher,* Das Grosse und Allgemeine Wappenbuch, *I, Nuremberg, 1850, pl. 101.*

[6] *Siebmacher,* Wappenbuch, *vol. I, part I, figs. 10, 11, 18, pls. 13, 46; part II, figs. 45-51.*

90

SHIELD WITH LION, HELD BY ANGEL

Lehrs V.341.95
Diameter: 78 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2635

Lehrs and Baum both mistakenly identified the animal in this crest as a leopard.

91

SHIELD WITH WINGS, HELD BY PEASANT

Lehrs V.350.101
Diameter: 77 mm.

Provenance: Joseph Paelinck; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 38
B-2639

92

SHIELD WITH UNICORN, HELD BY WOMAN

Lehrs V.343.96
Diameter: 77 mm

Provenance: Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2636

93

SHIELD WITH SWAN, HELD BY WOMAN

Lehrs V.345.97
Diameter: 77 mm.

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden, Lugt 971; purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2637

94

SHIELD WITH LION'S HEAD, HELD BY WILD WOMAN

Lehrs V.347.99
Diameter: 77 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2638

Schongauer apparently had the *Wild Woman* by Master E.S. (Lehrs II.317.229) in mind when he conceived this engraving. The crossed legs of the woman as well as the rocky background are identical in the two prints.

95

SHIELDS WITH RABBIT AND MOOR'S HEAD, HELD BY WILD MAN

Lehrs V.355.104
Diameter: 78 mm.

Provenance: W. Esdaile, London, Lugt 2617; R. Balmanno, London, Lugt 213; British Museum duplicate, L. 305; Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2642

96

SHIELD WITH GREYHOUND, HELD BY WILD MAN

Lehrs V.352.102
Diameter: 78 mm.

Provenance: K. F. F. von Nagler, Berlin, Lugt 2529; Berlin Museum duplicate, Lugt 1606; Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2640

Flechsig suggests that this engraving and the next catalogue entry were intended as a pair, perhaps representing the coats of arms of a husband and wife.

97

SHIELD WITH STAG, HELD BY WILD MAN

Lehrs V.354.103
Diameter: 78 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2641

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 212-19, pls. 8, 9; Baum, *Schongauer* p. 43, pls. 98-107.

98-100

THREE ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS' SYMBOLS, CA. 1490

Traditionally, each of the four evangelists is represented in conjunction with a symbol or attribute. St. Matthew's symbol is an angel and St. Mark's a winged lion. An ox represents St. Luke and an eagle symbolizes St. John. These four symbols derive from two biblical sources, *Ezekiel* 1:5-10 and *Revelations* 4:4-8. The latter source describes one of John's Apocalyptic visions. John saw the throne of the Lord surrounded by four living creatures: a lion, an ox, a man, and a flying eagle. It is not known why, but by the fourth century A.D. these four "animals" of St. John's vision had become associated with the evangelists and have persisted as their symbols to this day. Usually, the symbol accompanies the figure of the evangelist. In the *St. John on Patmos* (cat. no. 45), for example, the eagle—very similar to the eagle of this series—is present merely to identify the figure of John.

This set of engravings is from Schongauer's late period and represents the clarity and simplicity of form of his final style. *The Angel of St. Matthew* (cat. no. 99), for example, is tectonically composed and beautifully fitted into the round shape. The shaded recesses in the drapery are rather deep, endowing the angel's legs with convincing solidity, thus anchoring the composition. To give stability to the vertical axis, Schongauer slightly exaggerated the distance between waist and knee. The crisp, angular folds are contrasted with the flowing contours of the empty banderole and the angel's lovely wings. The surface area is almost filled, but a beautiful pattern of negative spaces exists nonetheless. Note especially the beautiful design created by the wings as they encircle the halo.

98

THE EAGLE OF ST. JOHN

Lehrs V.305.75
Diameter: 88 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1945
B-2628

99

THE ANGEL OF ST. MATTHEW

Lehrs V.301.72
Diameter: 87 mm.

Provenance: Joseph Paelinck; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 23
B-2625

100

THE LION OF ST. MARK

Lehrs V.302.73
Diameter: 87 mm.

Provenance: Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 25
B-2627

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 225, 232, 242; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pls. 90, 92, 93; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 93

101-104

FOUR ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS, CA. 1490

The parable of the wise and foolish virgins is found in Matthew 25:1-13. It illustrates that the righteous must always be prepared to enter the kingdom of heaven, since the gates of heaven will be closed to the careless and the foolish. In the parable, heaven is likened to the house of the bridegroom. The five wise virgins, anticipating that they might have to await the groom, brought enough oil to keep their lamps burning, but the five foolish virgins were unprepared for the groom's delay. Their lamps went out and they had to go off to buy more oil. On their return, the bridegroom's door was shut to them. Only those who had originally come prepared were given access to the marriage feast.

Schongauer portrays the wise virgins facing right and holding their flaming lamps upright. The foolish virgins face left. Their wedding wreaths lie on the ground and their lamps are held upside down to show that the oil is gone. The wise virgins have pleasant expressions while the foolish ones cast their eyes down or wipe away tears (cat. no. 104).

The isolation of the single figure against a blank background and the use of systematic hatching to carve out the recesses of the drapery and model plastic form are characteristic of Schongauer's latest work. This series gave Schongauer the opportunity to present ten different drapery models, something which must have pleased the less inventive artists who often borrowed Schongauer's inventions. Some of the figures are seen frontally, some in pure profile, and several from three-quarters view, indicating that Schongauer consciously varied the arrangement from one engraving to the next. The elegant figures, with their high-waisted costumes and long trains, recall the types found in Franco-Flemish manuscript illuminations of the early decades of the fifteenth century[1] and show that Schongauer's work, even at the end of his career, is a lingering manifestation of the forms and temper of the international style.

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[1] *See, for example, the miniature painting of the month of April in Paul de Limbourg's* Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, *reproduced in Grete Ring,* A Century of French Painting, *London, 1949, pl. 32.*

101

FIRST WISE VIRGIN

Lehrs V.308.76
122 x 85 mm.

Provenance: Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 27
B-2629

102

FOURTH WISE VIRGIN

Lehrs V.312.79
122 x 83 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 29
B-2630

103

SECOND FOOLISH VIRGIN

Lehrs V.316.82
121 x 84 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5g; purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2631

104

THIRD FOOLISH VIRGIN

Lehrs V.317.83
120 x 84 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,673

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 94; Flechsig, *Schongauer,* p. 228; Baum, *Schongauer,* p. 44, pls. 80-89

105

A FOOLISH VIRGIN

Ca. 1475 or 1491
Lehrs V.323.86
149 x 108 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, close to Lehrs 66, 68

Provenance: K. E. von Liphart, Dorpat, Lugt 1687; purchased from William Schab, 1955
B-22,016

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer,* pp. 203-206; Baum, *Schongauer,* p. 40, pl. 12

Wendland considered this engraving Schongauer's very last print, left unfinished at the time of the artist's death.[1] Wendland argued that the figure's left arm and the modeling on the hands, as well as the monogram, were later added to the plate by a weaker artist. The way the waist is modeled by extremely long parallel strokes with a space burnished out for the monogram is thoroughly atypical of Schongauer. Only the head and lovely face—the firm, sure draftsmanship of the turban and hair, the eyes and the lips—are definitely Schongauer's work.

Lehrs felt that the modeling on the left sleeve betrayed the hand of Master i.e., one of Schongauer's closest imitators, and thus he supported Wendland's opinion, concluding that Master i.e. finished Schongauer's plate. Flechsig, on the other hand, has argued that the engraving is entirely an authentic Schongauer. He argues that the copper plate was originally much larger and perhaps depicted a full length figure. For some unknown reason Schongauer cropped the plate to its present size. Desiring to apply his monogram, he was forced to make room by burnishing away a small section at the bottom.

The present writer cannot agree at all with Flechsig. The outer contour of the left arm is a mere scrawl, while the modeling of the inner contour is not at all characteristic of Schongauer. The scratchy modeling of the fingers appears nowhere else in Schongauer's *oeuvre.* When the entire left arm and the hands are covered up and masked from our view, the remainder of the image certainly appears more unified and more purely Schongaueresque. Finally, the monogram, especially the S, is very rigid, as if done painstakingly by a copyist (a copyist, indeed, who neglected to reverse the letter on the plate). We agree with Lehrs that the plate was finished by a second hand. We are not convinced, however, that the print is a late Schongauer work. The modeling on the face and chest is of the rough random type found in Schongauer's earliest prints, such as *The Man of Sorrows* (L.34).[2] The realistic portrait-like face also relates this print more closely to figures in early Schongauer engravings (cf. cat. no. 41) than to the doll-like or adolescent faces of the late works (cf. cat. nos. 101-104). Perhaps this plate, like the copper plate of the *Battle of St. James* (cat. no. 42) was begun early in the artist's lifetime, but was left unfinished until after his death.

The presence of a turban led Flechsig to assume that Schongauer was portraying a Moorish woman he had seen in Spain. If Flechsig is right, we have yet another argument for dating this print early in Schongauer's career, during or just after his trip to Spain in the early 1470's. The engraving is extremely similar to a Schongauer school drawing in Munich traditionally considered to be the portrait of a Moorish woman.[3]

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1. H. Wendland, Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher, *Berlin, 1907, pp. 106-107.*

2. Reproduced in Baum, Schongauer, *pl. 1.*

3. J. Rosenberg, Martin Schongauer Handzeichnungen, *Munich, 1923, no. 35.*

106-109

FOUR ORNAMENT PRINTS, CA. 1480-90

Schongauer made nine ornament prints, four of which are included in our collection. Ornament engravings probably originated in the workshops of goldsmiths who made the prints to keep records of their designs or for use as patterns by their colleagues or apprentices. By Schongauer's time, sculptors, wood-carvers, stone masons and metal workers also made use of ornament engravings as sources of designs and motifs. Schongauer's thistle and leaf ornaments (cat. nos. 107, 108) are carefully spread out in the picture plane as though Schongauer were providing the craftsman with a clear "blueprint" for translating his two-dimensional engraving into a three-dimensional ornament. Flechsig, however, takes issue with the traditional belief that Schongauer created prints intentionally for use as models by artisans.[1] Flechsig claims that Schongauer, an eminent painter, would not be concerned with trifling matters such as the provision of models for minor craftsmen. Intrigued by the forms he saw, Schongauer copied them, according to Flechsig, for sheer pleasure or for the use of other painters who were not familiar with architectural or ornamental forms.

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1. See Flechsig, Schongauer, *esp. chapter 3, "War Martin Schongauer ein Goldschmied," pp. 81-86.*

106

ORNAMENT WITH HOP VINE

Lehrs V.363.108
85 x 119 mm.

Provenance: Unidentified collector's stamp, W; Clendenin J. Ryan sale, Parke-Bernet, Jan. 17, 1940, no. 44
B-2645

107

THISTLE ORNAMENT

Lehrs V.368.112
136 x 93 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2646

108

LEAF ORNAMENT

Lehrs V.369.114
109 x 69 mm.

Provenance: D. G. de Arozarena, South America, Lugt 109; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 113; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1937
B-2647

109

ORNAMENT WITH OWL MOCKED BY DAY BIRDS

Lehrs V.371.115
145 x 103 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2648

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 84, 220-21, 305; Baum, *Schongauer*, pls. 110, 112, 114, 116

Although this engraving appears superficially to be a pure ornament print, it is in fact an allegorical representation of the struggle between the forces of good and evil. At the bottom, just above Schongauer's monogram, an owl preys upon a small bird. Five other birds, almost perfectly camouflaged by the foliage, direct their attention to the owl's foul deed and cry out against him. Jakob Rosenberg has pointed out that the owl is often represented in late medieval art as a personification of sin.[1] She is a vicious bird, proud and gluttonous, who shuns light and attacks other animals at night. The other birds are said to symbolize goodness since they fly toward heaven, but the owl, who intentionally lives in the dark, denies the values of virtue. The other birds thus attack and scorn the owl with justification.

110

A CENSER

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs V.359.106
313 x 212 mm; silhouetted
Watermark: Profile head with star

Provenance: Gutekunst and Co., Stuttgart, Auction 4, 1870; Hohenzollern Museum, Sigmaringen; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2644

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 83-84; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 32, pl. 96

Lehrs considered this engraving a model Schongauer made for goldsmiths, but Flechsig has argued that it has nothing of the character of a model. The complicated play of light and shadow on the surface and in the crevices, as well as the presence of the minute and unclearly articulated figures of angels at the top would have rendered this print useless as a goldsmith's pattern. It is more likely a study done after a gold or silver censer rather than Schongauer's own invention. Schongauer did it, according to Flechsig, to demonstrate his technical virtuosity and for no purpose beyond the creation of a beautiful image. The artful arrangement of the chains, the manner in which they spread on the ground, supports Flechsig's contention that Schongauer was more concerned with aesthetic problems than practical ones.

Our impression of this extremely handsome and famous engraving, like about half of the other forty surviving examples, was cut out around the contours and silhouetted on a second sheet of old paper. The reason this was done is unknown.

111

A BISHOP'S CROSIER

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs V.357.105
288 x 127 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower and cross-stroke, Lehrs 67

Provenance: Georg Rath, Budapest, Lugt 1206; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2643

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 82-83, 193, 290; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 32, pl. 97

The Madonna and Child appear enthroned within the circular crook of the crosier, flanked by two angels playing a lute and an organ. On the back of the throne, four tiny figures appear to climb and cavort. Below, on the shaft, three saints are seen in narrow niches with pointed arches: St. Margaret with her dragon, an unidentified king with orb and scepter, and St. Barbara with her chalice. Near the bottom of the staff is Schongauer's tiny monogram.

Lehrs dates this print quite early in Schongauer's career because of the vertical M in the monogram and the similarity of the Madonna's drapery to that of the Madonna in the early *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 39). Flechsig dates it prior to 1479 since he feels that Michael Wolgemuth copied the Madonna in the scene of the Holy Kinship in his *Zwickau Altarpiece* of 1479.

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[1] *Jakob Rosenberg, "On the Meaning of a Bosch Drawing,"* De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, *New York, 1961, pp. 422-426.*

112

ST. LAWRENCE

Ca. 1490-91
Lehrs V.268.61
160 x 112 mm.
Watermark: Profile head, close to Lehrs 70, 72

Provenance: Fürst Karl Paar, Vienna, Lugt 2009; Fürst zu Fürstenberg, Donaueschingen, Lugt 2811; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1943
B-4388

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 239, 252; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 61

St. Lawrence was an archdeacon of the Church under Pope Sixtus II in the third century. Sixtus was arrested and condemned to die by the prefect of Rome under the orders of Emperor Valerian. With Sixtus disposed of, the prefect then demanded that Lawrence turn over all church wealth to the Roman government. Lawrence, however, had been instructed by Sixtus to distribute the money among the poor so that it would never fall into Valerian's hands. When Lawrence told the prefect what had become of the money, the saint was put to death by being roasted alive on a gridiron. Lawrence is usually shown wearing a deacon's dalmatic over his alb, or tunic. He holds the palm of martyrdom and the gridiron, the instrument of his cruel death.

This is one of Schongauer's very late engravings, characterized by its ultimate restraint and formal economy. The single figure is defined by a simple, uninterrupted contour and is silhouetted against a blank background so that it thoroughly dominates the scene. The modeling is stringently controlled; areas of shadow are coalesced so that lucid planar areas of white are carefully interspersed with the clearly delimited shaded areas.

113

ST. STEPHEN

Ca. 1490-91
Lehrs V.282.66
162 x 114 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head, Lehrs 42

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2620

References: Flechsig, *Schongauer*, pp. 239, 252, 289; Baum, *Schongauer*, p. 43, pl. 62

St. Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian Church, was stoned to death and is identified by the large bundle of stones he carries in his dalmatic (for the iconography of St. Stephen see cat. no. 30). Like St. Lawrence, Stephen was a deacon and usually wears the dalmatic over his tunic.

This print was probably conceived with the foregoing catalogue entry (no. 112) as a pair or as part of an unfinished series of early deacons of the Church. The identical size of the plates, the similar treatment of the figures and the modeling, as well as the way the drapery crumples onto the ground in both prints confirm this hypothesis.

114-115

THE ANGEL AND
THE MADONNA OF THE ANNUNCIATION, CA. 1490-91

At the end of his career Schongauer repeated a subject he had treated earlier, *The Annunciation* (cf. cat. no. 64). Whereas the early version was done on a small plate which contains the entire composition, the angel and the Madonna in the late version appear on two separate plates, forming a diptych. It has been suggested that because they are on separate sheets, the two figures were inspired by non-adjacent sculptures from the portal of a Gothic church. Whether or not that is so, the division of the two splendid figures into two distinct images is in full accord with Schongauer's deliberate striving in his late work for effects of absolute monumentality. To be sure, the drapery still breaks into complex ornate folds. As the angel alights, for example, a draught of air catches up his cloak so that it whirls around him in a spiral, a shape that is echoed in the banderole which mellifluously twists itself around the angel's scepter. All of the complex form and linear play, however, is contained within the boundaries of a rigorous composition. The angel's only accessory is his scepter; the Madonna is accompanied only by an elegant lily to symbolize her purity. The scene takes place in an abstract space rather than in the Virgin's chamber. The figures are extremely corporeal, set against a blank background to emphasize their plasticity. These two prints thus represent Schongauer's final style, the late Gothic in Germany at its ripest but also at its most lucid.

114
THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL

Lehrs V.42.2
167 x 116 mm.

Provenance: Frau Dr. M. Rosenthal; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1939
B-11,167

115
THE MADONNA

Lehrs V.43.3
170 x 118 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with St. Anthony's cross, Lehrs 30

Provenance: Gabriel Cognacq, Paris, Lugt 538d; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1952
B-21,089

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 80; Flechsig, *Schongauer,* pp. 240, 249, 290, 311; Baum, *Schongauer,* p. 44, pls. 94, 95

Schongauer originally placed a fluttering tip of drapery to the left of the Madonna's form to balance the one at the right. Incompletely burnished out, it is still partially visible amid the buds about half way up the lily stalk.

MASTER i.e.
Active ca. 1480-1500

Nothing is known about the life of Master i.e. and there has been no success in identifying the monogram which appears on one of his prints, a bust-length engraving of a peasant (Lehrs VI.53.54). Lehrs began to assemble this engraver's work in 1888 under the name "Master of the St. Catherine's Wheel,"[1] since i.e. printed most of his plates on a paper which bears the wheel watermark (Briquet 13,362; 13,428). Of the 55 prints attributed to i.e., 31 are direct copies after Schongauer, while many of the remainder are so pronouncedly Schongaueresque that they must also be copies of lost Schongauer paintings or drawings. It is thus generally assumed that Master i.e. was an apprentice or workshop colleague of Schongauer. Daniel Burckhardt's identification of i.e. as Schongauer's brother Georg, however, has not been found convincing.[2]

The prints of this minor master lack Schongauer's technical brilliance and suave beauty of form. His work, though proficient, tends to be dry and pedantic; its major interest for the scholar lies in the fact that it transmits Schongauer motifs and compositions which have not survived in the original. It is probable that a number of the drawings Rosenberg ascribed to Schongauer's school are from the hand of Master i.e.[3] Lehrs suggested that i.e. was also responsible for the completion of the bottom portion of Schongauer's half-length *Foolish Virgin* (see cat. no. 105).

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[1] *M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XI, 1888, p. 64.*

[2] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VI, p. 23.*

[3] *J. Rosenberg,* Martin Schongauer Handzeichnungen, *Munich, 1923, nos. 38, 39.*

116
CHRIST IN THE WILDERNESS SERVED BY ANGELS

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.27.5, second state with the false monogram of Schongauer added at lower left
297 x 222 mm.

Provenance: R. Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna, Lugt 2770; purchased from William Schab
B-19,132

References: M. Lehrs, "Italienische Kopien nach deutschen Kupferstichen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* XII, 1891, p. 133; Geisberg, *Geschichte,* p. 191; Louise S. Richards, "An Engraving by the Master i.e.," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* XL, 1953, pp. 191-92

The subject of this engraving is based on a phrase in the *Book of Mark* (1:13) which states that after Christ's forty-day ordeal in the wilderness and following his temptation by Satan (see cat. no. 125), angels came to minister to Him. Master i.e. sets the scene in an oasis which is populated by a variety of unlikely animals: deer, partridges, several frisky rabbits, and in the lower left corner, a fox. Christ is attended by six angels who raise their hands as if in awe and admiration of Christ's success in his encounter with Satan. The ape in the pomegranate tree at the left and the owl in the oak tree at the right are symbolic embodiments of the evil with which Satan tempted Christ in the wilderness.[1] Just as Christ overcame Satan's evil, so is the owl about to be attacked by other birds who recognize her evil character.

Whether or not Lehrs is correct in stating that this engraving duplicates the composition of a lost Schongauer drawing, numerous elements were clearly inspired by Schongauer sources. The date palm is a variation on the tree in Schongauer's *Flight into Egypt* (cat. no. 40). The upper half of Christ's body appears to be derived from Schongauer's early drawing in the Uffizi,[2] while the lower half seems to be based on the early *Madonna and Child* engraving (cat. no. 48). Christ's silhouette and the arrangement of his drapery folds are almost identical to those of the *Madonna*. The abundance of vegetation and the richness of the modeling led Willshire[3] to attribute the present engraving to Master LCz (cf. cat. no. 125). We agree with Lehrs, however, that the weak drawing of the faces and somewhat disjointed and haphazard arrangement of compositional elements point directly to Master i.e.

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[1] *See H. W. Janson,* Apes and Ape Lore, *London, 1952, p. 123; see also cat. no. 109.*

[2] *J. Rosenberg,* Martin Schongauer Handzeichnungen, *Munich, 1923, no. 15.*

[3] *Willshire,* Early Prints, *II, pp. 254-55.*

MASTER BM

Active ca. 1480-1500

Like the Master i.e., Master BM probably worked in the Upper Rhine region under the direct influence of Martin Schongauer. Unlike Master i.e., however, BM was not a mere copyist who made painstaking imitations of Schongauer's drawings and prints. Master BM appears to have fully absorbed Schongauer's repertoire of motifs which he presents in his own spirited sketchy style, characterized by a lightness and delicacy of touch. His airy scenes are much more candid and less formally arranged than are Schongauer's. The freedom of his burin work and his concern for atmospheric effects suggest that BM was basically a painter rather than a goldsmith. Ernst Buchner has attributed several paintings to his hand.[1]

The BM monogram varies slightly on all ten of the master's surviving prints. Sometimes it is quite small, while at other times it is very large with the two letters widely separated. In *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (cat. no. 117), a hallmark or family device is inserted between the two letters.

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[1] *E. Buchner,* Martin Schongauer als Maler, *Berlin, 1941, p. 161; see also A. Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *VII, pp. 24-35, nos. 42-43, 45.*

117

THE REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.74.2
222 x 163 mm.

Provenance: Waldburg-Wolfegg Collection, Lugt 2542; purchased from William Schab, 1949
B-15,788

Joseph dozes at the right, while a group of angels sings from a large scroll of music, entertaining the Virgin and Child. Although Master BM's types are thinner than those of Schongauer and more sketchily handled, there is no denying their derivation from Schongauer. Joseph's face is identical to that of Schongauer's St. Anthony (cat. no. 37), while the Madonna's face resembles that of the Madonna in Schongauer's early *Nativity* (cat. no. 38). The trio of singing angels recalls the angelic trio in Schongauer's *Christ Blessing the Virgin* (cat. no. 75). The cityscape on the horizon and the treatment of trees in the distance betray similarities to the background in Schongauer's large *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 46).

118

ST. JOHN ON PATMOS

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.81.8
231 x 151 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5f; Gabriel Cognacq, Paris, Lugt 538d; purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,214

The iconography of St. John on Patmos is discussed in connection with Schongauer's version of this subject (cat. no. 45), of which the present engraving is a free adaptation. A glance at several of the details—the apparition of the Virgin, the eagle, the trunk of the tree, or the boats on the broad expanse of water—suffices to show that Master BM worked on this plate with Schongauer's engraving before him. Characteristic of Master BM, St. John has been transformed from Schongauer's pudgy but compact figure to a tall, lean type with a thin, earnest face. BM's engraving is also characterized by freer and less constructed modeling and an emphasis on sharp-edged, almost glass-like landscape forms.

119

THE LAMENTATION

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.75.3
225 x 160 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower

Provenance: D. G. de Arozarena, South America, Lugt 109; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; purchased from William Schab, 1949
B-15,787

This particular version of the Lamentation at the foot of the cross, with the stiff body of the dead Christ stretched across the Virgin's lap at a 45-degree angle, probably goes back to a prototype by Roger van der Weyden.[1] The general composition, however, with the T-cross towering high over the cluster of grieving figures is probably Master BM's own invention.

The incredibly thin, fragile female figure at the right and the crystalline cliffs in the background are typical of Master BM's style.

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[1] *Though no exact prototype survives, the figure group in the engraving can be profitably compared with the central panel of Roger's* Miraflores Altarpiece, *reproduced in Panofsky,* Netherlandish Painting, *pl. 180, fig. 318; see also Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pl. XVII.*

120

TWO MEN IN ARMOR

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.83.10
171 x 105 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from P. and D. Colnaghi, 1937
B-8279

Two knights in full armor, each bearing two weapons, appear to be engaged in conversation. We can only speculate on the purpose of such an engraving. It could be an armorer's advertisement or might illustrate some historical event or legend which is no longer known. One hypothesis is that the two figures are modeling the latest fashions in armor and that the engraving is a "fashion plate."[1] Although we feel that this interpretation is the product of a twentieth-century outlook, we admit that the armor is of the style which appears in south German sculpture in the latter half of the fifteenth century.[2]

Only two other impressions of this rare engraving were known to Lehrs.

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[1] The First Century of Printmaking, *no. 101.*

[2] *We can compare several sculptures in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich: the gravestone of Ulrich Busch zu Vilsheim (MA 933) who died in 1458; reproduced in T. Müller,* Die Bildwerke in Holz, Ton, und Stein um 1450 bis um 1540, *Munich, 1959, p. 29. The effigy on this stone wears armor closely resembling that of the two knights in the engraving. Another sculpture, usually dated ca. 1490, a* St. Michael *from Passau (MA 1196), reproduced in Müller,* Bildwerke, *p. 38, also wears armor of this general variety. Compare also the figure of St. Florian in Michael Pacher's* St. Wolfgang Altarpiece *of 1481.*

MASTER A G

Active ca. 1475-90

Lehrs attributes 34 prints to the master who signed many of his plates with the monogram A G. Because 13 of these 34 engravings are direct copies after Martin Schongauer, it has been assumed that A G was an apprentice in Schongauer's workshop in Colmar. Four of A G's prints—including two (L.31, 32) which represent the shield of Rudolph II von Scherenberg, the powerful bishop of Würzburg—were apparently commissioned by Georg Reyser, a printer, and used to illustrate missals published in Würzburg in 1479, 1481, 1484, and 1489.[1] We cannot be sure when or why A G left Colmar to come to Würzburg, though there is one clue which provides a possible answer. Reyser, the Würzburg printer and employer of Master A G, was a native of Alsace. He first came to Würzburg from Strassburg in 1479. It would not be unreasonable to hypothesize that when Reyser came to Würzburg he encouraged the Master A G to join him and serve as an illustrator and designer in the new printing establishment.

In the seventeenth century, Joachim von Sandrart[2] falsely identified Master A G as Albrecht Glockendon of Nuremberg. Glockendon is documented as a sixteenth-century miniature painter, but probably had nothing more than his initials in common with our fifteenth-century engraver. Although Sandrart's misleading hypothesis was reinforced in 1921 in the Thieme-Becker *Künstlerlexikon*,[3] no serious scholar today accepts this identification. It tenaciously lingers on, however, in sales and auction catalogues. The much more plausible (but by no means incontestable) thesis of A. Merckling[4] that A G was Anton Gerbel of Pforzheim, the father of the humanist Nicolaus Gerbel, has not received adequate study.

In a recent doctoral thesis, Ursula Petersen[5] has credited Master A G with the authorship of sixteen paintings from the large altarpiece now in the Unterlinden Museum, but formerly in the Dominican Church in Colmar. The paintings are given to Schongauer by Flechsig,[6] but are more commonly assigned to Schongauer's studio.

121

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.106.8
143 x 104 mm.
Printed on vellum

Provenance: G. M. La Monte, Lugt 1181c; purchased from Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, 1963
B-23,600

References: Petersen, *Der Monogrammist A G*, pp. 59-61

The composition of this engraving as well as certain individual details recall Schongauer's treatment of the same subject (cat. no. 51) as well as other engravings from Schongauer's Passion series with which A G must have been familiar. The St. John, seen from behind, may have been inspired by the St. John in Schongauer's *Entombment* (cat. no. 60). The praying Christ is almost a direct copy in reverse of the figure in Schongauer's *Agony in the Garden*. In the Schongauer *Agony*, however, the figures of the three sleeping apostles are coalesced into one large shape, whereas they are separated in Master A G's work to give the spectator's eye an unhindered passageway into the picture space to the figure of Christ.

122

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VI.116.19
113 x 169 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1946
B-13,940

References: Petersen, *Der Monogrammist A G*, pp. 120-29

The legend of St. George is discussed under cat. no. 43. This engraving by Master A G was attributed by Bartsch[1] to Schongauer, though it was given to A G as early as 1884 by Seidlitz.[2] Petersen has shown that the figure of St. George as well as the drawing of his horse and the notation of a landscape on the left are closely related to the *Battle of St. James* engraving (cat. no. 42), which is often assigned to Schongauer's school but which we have attributed to Schongauer himself. Petersen finds the *St. James* print so closely allied to the present engraving that she attributes the *St. James* to Master A G.

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[1] *Franz F. Leitschuh, "Buchdruck und Buchausstattung des XV. Jahrhunderts in Würzburg,"* Studien und Quellen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, *N. F. XIV, 1912, pp. 81-89.*

[2] *J. von Sandrart,* Teutsche Akademie, *Nuremberg and Frankfurt, 1675-79, p. 220.*

[3] *Thieme-Becker, XIV, 1921, pp. 257-58.*

[4] *A. Merckling, "Meister Anton Gerbel,"* Jahrbuch der elsässischen-lothringischen Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft zu Strassburg, *VIII, 1935, p. 106 ff.*

[5] *Ursula Petersen,* Der Monogrammist A G, *Freiburg-i-B., 1953 (unpublished dissertation).*

[6] *Flechsig,* Schongauer, *pp. 354-83.*

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[1] *Bartsch*, Peintre-Graveur, *VI, 142.52.*

[2] *W. von Seidlitz, "Martin Schongauer als Kupferstecher,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *VII, 1884, p. 178, footnote 11.*

WENZEL VON OLMÜTZ

Active ca. 1475-1500

Wenzel or Wenceslaus von Olmütz was a Bohemian engraver, most of whose 91 prints are careful copies of the work of other masters, especially Schongauer (of whose prints he copied 43), the Housebook Master, Master PW, and the young Albrecht Dürer. Olmütz is a city in Czechoslovakia, due east of Prague. Diligent searches through the archives of Olmütz have unfortunately revealed no documents pertaining to Wenzel's life.

Wenzel's prints are usually simply monogrammed with a W at the bottom, although he fully signed and dated one engraving, his copy of Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* (cat. no. 41), in 1481 (Lehrs VI.202.11). Anton Springer[1] was wide of the mark when in 1877 he identified Master W as the Venetian Jacopo de' Barbari. In 1884, Thausing[2] erroneously suggested that Master W was Michael Wolgemuth, Dürer's teacher. Thausing felt that Wenzel's prints after Dürer were in fact Wolgemuth prototypes which the young Dürer had copied. Wilhelm Schmidt finally identified Master W as Wenzel in 1886,[3] and Lehrs published a thorough Wenzel monograph in 1889.[4]

Wenzel's copies are usually very faithful to his models, although he tends to accentuate details such as noses, lips, and fingernails. This gives his faces and hands a hard, chiseled quality which makes it easy to distinguish Wenzel's work from that which he copied. Occasionally he added ornamental details, hoping to improve upon the original. His modeling is usually organized into small areas of systematic hatching, and often takes a Schongaueresque form.

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[1] *A. Springer, "Meister W,"* Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, *XII, 1877, pp. 1-8, 38-42.*

[2] *Moritz Thausing,* Dürer, *I, Leipzig, 1884, p. 224.*

[3] *W. Schmidt, "Wenzeslaus de Olomucz,"* Kunstchronik, *XXII, 1886/87, cols. 193-98.*

[4] *Max Lehrs,* Wenzel von Olmütz, *Dresden, 1889.*

123

FARMER AND WIFE WITH GOOSE

Ca. 1490
Lehrs VI.239.58, unique impression before the plate was cropped at the bottom
80 x 59 mm.

Provenance: Dr. R. Mead, London, Lugt 1805; purchased from William Schab, 1940
B-10,387

References: Lehrs, *Wenzel von Olmütz,* Dresden, 1889, p. 72

This small engraving of two peasants going to market is a reversed copy of an original by the Master of the Housebook (L.66). Wenzel has made the scene more "picturesque" by showing all five of the farmer's toes poking out of his worn shoe. Otherwise, the copy is faithful to the original.

Lehrs knew only three impressions of this engraving, all of which were printed from the copper plate after it had been slightly cropped at the bottom leaving only the top half of the W visible. He claimed that no impressions from the intact plate survived.

124

THE LOVERS

Ca. 1490
Lehrs VI.258.67
171 x 113 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Sessler, 1930
B-10,386

References: Lehrs, *Wenzel von Olmütz,* Dresden, 1889, pp. 15, 79-80; *The First Century of Printmaking,* no. 102

Like the preceding example, this engraving is an exacting copy by Wenzel after a drypoint by the Housebook Master (L.80). It preserves much of the charm and delicacy of mood of the original. Richard Field[1] has pointed out the subtle psychology of love and devotion that are apparent in both the Housebook Master's original and in this copy. The courting couple is seen through a kind of artificial doorway, the arched top of which is covered by a leafy vine. The youth and young lady appear to be steeped in thought as if entranced by each other's company. The youth's left hand rests lightly on the lady's knee, as she tenderly places her hand on his. The dog and the carnations are symbolic of love and fidelity. On the floor is a basin of water in which a ewer of wine is being cooled.

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[1] *R. S. Field*, Selected 15th Century Prints from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, *Pennsylvania State University (exhibition catalogue), 1965, p. 22, no. 45.*

MASTER LCz (Lorenz Katzheimer)

Active ca. 1480-ca. 1505

The Master LCz is the most imaginative of the South German engravers in Schongauer's circle of influence. Though only twelve prints from his hand are known,[1] several of them rank with the greatest works in the history of engraving. It has been common to speak of LCz's style as a synthesis of the decorous style of Schongauer with its refined types and orderly compositions, and the lively style of the Master of the Housebook, characterized by highly inventive imagery and spontaneous burin work.

It is now generally accepted that the engraver LCz is identical with the painter, the Master of the Strache Altar,[2] and further, that he can be identified as the Bamberg artist, Lorenz Katzheimer.[3] The erroneous identifications of LCz as a Dutch artist[4] or as the young Lucas Cranach[5] must finally be discarded. Many characteristics link LCz's style to Franconian painting, especially that of the Bamberg artist Wolfgang Katzheimer—possibly LCz's brother or cousin—and verify the recently discovered evidence which places Master LCz in the Bamberg school.[6]

Master LCz may have gone to Nuremberg, the leading art center of Franconia in the later decades of the fifteenth century, to serve his apprenticeship in the workshop of Dürer's teacher, Michael Wolgemuth. A Wolgemuth portrait dated 1486 in the Detroit Art Institute[7] bears an extremely decorative monogram composed of three letters which Ernst Buchner interpreted as "LCz".[8] On this basis, Buchner suggested that the portrait was painted by Wolgemuth to celebrate the betrothal or marriage of his apprentice, the youthful Master LCz. Whether or not this painting actually portrays Master LCz, there is other evidence which supports the thesis that LCz was at one time active in Nuremberg. The affinity between his paintings and those of the Nuremberger Hans Pleydenwurff is so great—in terms of figure style, coloristic peculiarities, and composition—that Bernhard Saran mistakenly attributed several panels of Pleydenwurff's *Hofer Altar* in the Munich Pinakothek to Master LCz.[9] Even more striking to the present writer is the relation of LCz's later engravings to the Wolgemuth woodcuts illustrating several Nuremberg books of the 1490's, particularly the *Schatzbehalter* of 1491[10] and the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493,[11] published by Anton Koberger. LCz's serious facial types, his choppy, angular drapery patterns and tangly pictorial compositions are like engraved, and hence refined, interpretations of the visual vocabulary of the Wolgemuth woodcuts.

Master LCz's earliest engraving, the *Lady and Servant in a Meadow* (L.11),[12] which probably goes back to the early 1480's, betrays the young artist's dependence on the figure types of the Master E.S. and on the burin technique of Schongauer. As LCz's style matures, however, his burin style becomes less dependent on the systematic parallel hatching and cross-hatching of Schongauer. His draftsmanship becomes less inhibited, his compositions more inventive, and his burin work more sketchy and spontaneous. This may be due to his exposure to drypoints by the Housebook Master or to the "curly" woodcuts of Wolgemuth and the Nuremberg school.

Master LCz reaches the pinnacle of his creative power in two engravings of about 1500 or slightly later, the *Temptation* (cat. no. 125) and the *Entry into Jerusalem* (L.2). Powerful figures move about in a real, vegetating space, and the total effect, due to the extremely detailed treatment of landscape elements and the variety and density of burin strokes, is vigorously "painterly." The richness and colorful burin work of these late prints assure Master LCz's place in the history of graphic art.

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1. *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VI, pp. 314-342.*

2. *For the paintings of the Strache Master see Bernard Saran,* Der Meister LCz, *Bamberg, 1939; Ernst Buchner, "Zum Malwerk des Meisters LCz,"* Festgabe für seine Königliche Hoheit Kronprinz Rupprecht von Bayern, *Munich, 1953, pp. 85-89; Alfred Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *IX, pp. 105-108. Lehrs saw the stylistic affinities of LCz's engravings and the Strache paintings, but never accepted the contention that both were by one artist.*

3. *Konrad Arneth, "Die Malersippe Katzheimer in Bamberg,"* Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1940/41 des Gymnasiums Bamberg, *1941, pp. 34-44. For a complete discussion of the Katzheimer family and Master LCz's relationship to it see Fedja Anzelewsky, "Eine Spätmittlealterliche Malerwerkstatt. Studien über die Malerfamilie Katzheimer in Bamberg,"* Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, *XIX, 1965, pp. 134-150. This writer cannot agree with Anzelewsky's contention (p. 148) that the master's monogram should be read "LCM."*

4. *Passavant,* Peintre-Graveur, *I, p. 219.*

5. *Nagler,* Monogrammisten, *IV, no. 1008, pp. 328-331; Eberhard Schenk-Gotha, "Der Meister LCz,"* Zeitschrift für Kunst, *I, 1947, p. 29; M. Hasse, "Meister LCz,"* Thieme-Becker, *XXXVII, 1950, p. 427.*

6. *Wolfgang Katzheimer's paintings are reproduced in Nils Bonsels,* Wolfgang Katzheimer von Bamberg, *Strassburg, 1936.*

7. *Reproduced in Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *IX, pl. 109.*

8. *Ernst Buchner, "Zum Malwerk des Meisters LCz,"* Festgabe für seine Königliche Hoheit Kronprinz Rupprecht von Bayern, *Munich, 1953, p. 88.*

9. *Saran,* Der Meister LCz, *pp. 11-33.*

10. *Hain 14507; Schramm,* Bilderschmuck, *XVII, 1934, pl. 109-153.*

11. *Hain 14508; Schramm,* Bilderschmuck, *XVII, 1934 pl. 155-271.*

12. *This and all other LCz engravings are reproduced in Max Lehrs,* Der Meister LCz und Der Meister WB, *Berlin, 1922.*

125

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

Ca. 1500-1505
Lehrs VI.326.2, plate 174, no. 442
227 x 165 mm.
A strip of about 5 mm. has been cropped from the right-hand side; expertly repaired tears in left side about 20 mm. from bottom and in middle of left margin

Provenance: Count Franz von Sternberg-Manderscheid, Prague; Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-11,149

References: M. Lehrs, "The Master LCz," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, IX, 1922, pp. 8-9, ill. p. 7; Hind, *History*, p. 30; E. Bock, *Geschichte der Graphischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1930, p. 183; Saran, *Der Meister LCz*, p. 47; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 198; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 103; *Selections from the Rosenwald Collection*, p. 23; Fischer, *Geschichte*, pp. 172-3, pl. 133

This handsome engraving is one of the richest known impressions of LCz's greatest work. It depicts the three temptations to which Christ was subjected by Satan: gluttony, pride, and ambition (Matthew 4:11). After Jesus had been baptized, He went into the wilderness for forty days of fasting and meditation. At the end of that time, assuming that Christ had been weakened by his long fast, the Devil came to Him and said, "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread." Christ replied, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God." In our engraving, the hideous figure of Satan, a conglomeration of real and fantastic anatomical elements, points to several stones with his right claw, while Christ appears resolute. Satan then transported Jesus to the top of the Temple of Jerusalem. In the background of our engraving, on top of the squat dome of the temple, we can barely discern the tiny figure of Christ surrounded by an aureole, while to the left we see the hovering figure of the Devil. According to Matthew's gospel, Satan urged Christ to throw himself down to the ground, stating that if He were truly God's Son, angels would bear Him up and protect Him from harm. Christ replied, "You shall not tempt the Lord your God." Finally, Satan took Christ to a high mountain and showed Him all the kingdoms and riches of the world which would be His if He forsook God and prostrated himself before the Devil. Jesus answered, "Begone, Satan! For it is written, 'You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve.' " This final scene appears at the upper left of our engraving.

The mature Master LCz, seen in this work, is still indebted for specific details to his South German predecessors, Master E.S. and Martin Schongauer. The basic spatial composition and the dense forest at the left of our print are based on the E.S. *St. John on Patmos* of 1467 (L.150). Master LCz, however, transforms the essentially ornamental foliage of E.S. into real foliage which seems to have been observed from nature. The little lizard which appears at Christ's feet is borrowed from Schongauer's *Flight into Egypt* (L.7, cat. no. 40), and the bare mulberry tree just above Christ's head appears often in Schongauer's work, for example, in the *Crucifixion* (L.14, cat. no. 46). Christ's drapery, with its sharp ridges and angular folds, is also basically Schongaueresque and is comparable to the drapery of the middle king in the *Adoration of the Magi* (L.6, cat. no. 39), or that of the *Angel of the Annunciation* (L.2, cat. no. 114).

The basic difference between Schongauer and LCz, besides the rich, tonal play of LCz, is the later master's emphasis on realism. Schongauer's figures always adhere to the ideals of the artist's personal aesthetic, and no blemishes ever mar their lovely, regular features. LCz's figures, however, are bluntly realistic. The veins bulge in Christ's hand, his brow is lined, and his eyes are deeply sunken, giving him a tense, serious expression.

The juxtaposition of Christ and the Devil in this engraving suggests the archetypal confrontation of the forces of good and evil. Despite the abundance of drapery folds and the proliferation of flicks and strokes which model Christ's garment, everything is contained within a simple, firm outline. The figure of Christ is thus endowed with a tectonic solidity which underscores his dignity and steadfastness. Satan, the incarnation of everything fiendish and evil, has spiky and irregular features. Whereas Christ stands on a plot of grass and flowers before a little grove of trees, the Devil's half of the picture is barren. It is probably no coincidence that the woods behind Christ is composed of oak trees. The oak, because of its endurance and firmness, is a traditional symbol of the strength of faith and virtue.

The depiction of the Devil as a kind of nondescript conglomerate beast, part human and part animal, is not without precedent in German art. Of this basic type are the demons of the *Ars Moriendi*, a fifteenth-century picture series intended to enlighten the dying and save their souls from hell, which appeared as a blockbook in numerous editions and was also engraved by Master E.S. Several of the demons in Schongauer's *Tribulations of St. Anthony* (L.54, cat. no. 37) are also similar to LCz's Devil.[1] Another similar Devil, though not quite so horrifying, appears on the reverse of Michael Pacher's *Altarpiece of the Four Church Fathers* of about 1483 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. In this scene, the Devil is subdued by St. Wolfgang and forced to hold his missal.[2]

Master LCz's figure of Christ is based ultimately upon a woodcut in the *Schatzbehalter*, depicting Moses ordaining Aaron as a priest (Exodus 29).[3] The city of Jerusalem in our engraving is composed of the same type of "Romanesque" structures with crenellated towers and tiny window-openings which appear in the woodcut. The trees, grass and rocks in the two prints are also conceived and formulated in a similar manner. In addition, the figure of Moses with his serious mien, his dignified pose, and his gesture of blessing—to say nothing of the rumpled folds of his sleeve—is identical to the figure of Christ in LCz's engraving. Indeed, Christ's gesture, the left hand in a strange cramped position and the right hand raised in the traditional attitude of blessing, makes sense only if we assume that it was copied from a figure like the Moses, which holds a vessel of some sort in the left hand. Christ's serious, frowning facial type also relates to the characteristic type of God the Father and Christ which appear in woodcuts in Koberger's books.[4]

The little goat or ibex[5] which appears on the side of the cliff in the background of our engraving has been the subject of much dispute. Lehrs originally suggested that LCz borrowed this detail from Dürer's *Adam and Eve* engraving of 1504, and hence that LCz's *Temptation* post-dates the Dürer.[6] Mrs. Tietze-Conrat believed that the reversed relationship was more likely and that Dürer had been captivated by the detail he had seen in LCz's print and was induced to copy it.[7] Neither supposition is correct. LCz's goat is actually a reversed copy of a woodcut in Thomas Lirer's *Swabian Chronicle* of 1486, published by Konrad Dinckmut of Ulm.[8] The goat in the Ulm woodcut corresponds to LCz's goat in all details, including its placement on the rock ledge and the shading of the rocks just below. Dürer's goat is so different in conception from the other two, that it appears almost to be an animal of another species.

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1. *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VI, pp. 315-16, makes the curious suggestion that the speckled wings of LCz's Satan and of the demon at the lower left of Schongauer's* St. Anthony *are based on the wings of some kind of flying lizard which both artists might have seen in an apothecary's shop!*

2. *Reproduced in Eberhard Hempel,* Das Werk Michael Pachers, *6th ed., Vienna, 1952, pl. 87.*

3. *"Die funfzehend figur;" Schramm,* Bilderschmuck, *XVII, 1934, pl. 116, no. 331.*

4. *Schramm, XVII, pl. 109, nos. 317-18.*

5. *The goat is often shown in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art to differentiate the sinners and the righteous. The goat is the symbol of the unbelieving.*

6. *Max Lehrs, "The Master LCz,"* Print Collector's Quarterly, *IX, 1922, pp. 8-9.*

7. *E. Tietze-Conrat, "Die Flucht nach Egypten—Eine Dürerstudie,"* Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, *XLIX, 1926, pp. 65-67.*

8. Chronik von Allen Königen und Kaisern (*Hain-Copinger *10117); reproduced in Fischer,* Geschichte, *pl. 144 and in Schramm,* Bilderschmuck, *VI, 1923, plate 40, no. 146.*

MASTER FVB

Active ca. 1480-1500

The most talented Flemish engraver of the fifteenth century, Master FVB produced 59 engravings of which nine are reversed copies after Schongauer. Until about 1930, FVB was generally known as Franz von Bocholt, due to an apocryphal story in Quadt von Kinckelbach's *Teutscher Nation Herligkeit,* published at Cologne in 1609. Quadt claimed that the earliest engraver of whom he had heard was a certain F. von Bocholt, a shepherd in the country around Berg. Because FVB's style and temperament are close to that of Bouts, Memling, and the great masters of Bruges, Lehrs has suggested that the letters VB in the monogram might stand for "van Brugge" (from Bruges), though no document pertaining to a goldsmith or engraver of the time whose name begins with F has been discovered in the Bruges archives. Certainly, the restrained emotional quality of FVB's figures and their careful, well-arranged placement in handsome late medieval interiors call to mind the paintings of Roger van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, and Memling, and there is no question of FVB's Flemish origin. His bluntly realistic and unidealized figure and facial types (cat. nos. 129-32) are also characteristic of Netherlandish engravers of the late decades of the century (compare the engravings by Master I.A.M., cat. nos. 134-37, and those by an anonymous contemporary, cat. nos. 259-60).

Technically, FVB owes much to Schongauer, though FVB's hatching tends to be less rounded than Schongauer's. FVB's modeling is accomplished with series of short, straight strokes which are combined in varying degrees of density. He thus achieves a broad scale of tonal nuances, a suggestion of light flickering over the forms, and a rich pictorial quality.

126

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

Ca. 1480
Lehrs VII.116.2, second state
256 x 213 mm.
Watermark: Small shield crowned with three fleurs-de-lis, close to Lehrs 80

Provenance: John Malcolm, London, Lugt 1780; British Museum duplicate; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1938
B-2752

References: M. Lehrs, "The Master FVB," *Print Collector's Quarterly,* X, 1923, p. 14, pl. 2; *The First Century of Printmaking,* no. 109; Hollstein, XII, p. 141

The well-known story of Solomon's judgment (*I Kings* 316-28) in which the wise king settles a dispute between two women who both claim to be the mother of the same child is depicted in this engraving. The argument developed when one of the mothers exchanged her dead child for the other woman's living child. When Solomon called for a sword and commanded that the living child be cut in two so that each mother could have half, the true mother knelt and begged the king to give the whole child to the other woman. Her willingness to save the child's life at any cost convinced Solomon that she was the real mother. In FVB's representation, the swordsman enters at the left while a dense throng of courtiers at either side of the throne exhibit their reactions to Solomon's command by a variety of gestures and facial expressions. There is, however, little sense of commotion; we are reminded somewhat of the phlegmatic figures and stilted gestures in group pictures by Dirk Bouts.[1]

FVB has borrowed the poses of the king, the two mothers, and the two children from the earlier *Judgment of Solomon* by Master E.S. (L.7). FVB's rendering of textures, especially the velvety sheen of the sleeves of both the kneeling mother and the figure just behind her, seems to be derived from Schongauer (cf. cat. no. 47). FVB's vigorous, imposing types, on the other hand, with their realistic faces and stringy hair and beards are purely Netherlandish.

Lehrs claims that several figures from the present engraving were copied in woodcuts of the Nuremberg *Weltchronik* of 1493 on folio XLVII. The present writer finds only the most general and coincidental relationships between the two.

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[1] *See Friedländer*, Altneiderländische Malerei, *III, pl. XLIII.*

127

ST. ANTHONY

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs VII.145.39
166 x 96 mm.

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 162, Nov. 5, 1929, no. 134; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2759

References: Hollstein, XII, p. 155

The iconography of St. Anthony is discussed under catalogue number 66. Master FVB's St. Anthony has a tau-cross embroidered on his robe. The tau, or T, is the first letter of the Greek word "Theos," which means God and symbolizes the future life. St. Anthony is also usually shown with a bell which he rang to ward off demons. In this engraving, the pig, St. Anthony's faithful companion, wears the bell in his ear. The type of St. Anthony with a cap and cloak and a well-groomed if somewhat thick beard is very closely related to the St. Anthony by the Master of the Power of Women (L.I.91. 34),[1] a minor engraver active in the 1460's, according to Lehrs, in the Cologne region.

An early cast-iron stove preserved in Veste Coburg in central Germany is embellished with niches containing figures modeled after prints by FVB. The St. Anthony on the stove is clearly dependent on this engraving.[2]

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[1] *Reproduced in Geisberg,* Die Anfänge, *pl. 26.*

[2] *Albrecht Kippenberger, "Der Grosse Ofen der Veste Coburg und die Gusseisernen Öfen der Renaissance,"* Cicerone, *XVIII, 1926, pp. 207-317, fig. 7.*

128

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VII.148.42, second state
181 x 128 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2756

References: Hollstein, XII, p. 157

The legend of St. George is related under cat. no. 43. Master FVB's treatment of the subject is conventional, except that George's visor is closed and the horse turns his head aside as the knight prepares to slay the mighty beast. A baby dragon (and not a snake, as Lehrs asserts) peeks out of the cave at the lower right. The hilly landscape recedes to a great distance and is sprinkled with breezy trees which recall those in paintings by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and engravings by Master I.A.M. of Zwolle (cf. cat. no. 137).

This copper plate fell into the hands of Israhel van Meckenem who reworked all of the dark areas and incised his monogram over the incompletely burnished-out monogram of FVB.

129-132

FOUR ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF CHRIST AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES, CA. 1490-1500

Like many early engravers, Master FVB engraved a series of the apostles (cf. cat. nos. 5, 20-21, 68-73, 162-171). His powerful and starkly realistic figures are clad in abundant mantles and stand barefoot on the ground which is described by horizontal strokes. The vigorous earthy faces are totally unidealized. The variegated modeling of the drapery and the blunt realism of the types, as well as the chiseled drapery folds, relate these engravings to the *St. Anthony* (cat. no. 127) and it is likely that all were done at about the same time, in the closing years of the century.

129

ST. SIMON

Lehrs VII.142.36
181 x 95 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 16

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden, Lugt 971; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1940
B-2753

130

ST. PAUL

Lehrs VII.138.27
182 x 97 mm.

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden, Lugt 971; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1943
B-4360

131

ST. PHILIP

Lehrs VII.140.32
185 x 100 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 16

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1936
B-2755

132

ST. JUDAS THADDAEUS

Lehrs, VIII.143.37
183 x 98 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 16

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1937
B-2754

References: Max Lehrs, "The Master FVB," *Print-Collector's Quarterly*, X, 1923, p. 29, pl. 11; Hollstein, XII, pp. 152-54

133

THE CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VII.125.7A
183 x 132 mm. (border); 248 x 173 mm. (sheet)
Traces of red ink on St. John's lips

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden, Lugt 971; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2757

This engraving, one of only two impressions known to Lehrs, is not by Master FVB but is a copy by a competent hand after FVB's *Crucifixion* (L.VII.124.7).[1] The copyist has omitted the high rock behind St. John and the cross in Christ's halo. He has, however, added a bird flying through the sky at the left and he has replaced the windmill in the upper left corner with a man carrying a lance. This last change has led Lehrs to speculate that a South German engraver, one who could not comprehend the curious windmill in FVB's original, is responsible for the copy.

Fifteenth-century engravings have rarely survived with margins as large as those on this engraving. It was probably intended as a canon page for a missal and was not trimmed to the border line because it was to be bound into a printed book. It was common to illustrate missals with one print of the Crucifixion inserted at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass.[2] Woodcuts were most commonly used, but we occasionally find engravings in this role. The present engraving closely resembles canon woodcuts, both in form and iconography.[3]

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[1] *The original by FVB is reproduced in Hollstein, XII, p. 146 and in Lehrs,* Tafelband, *VII, pl. 188, fig. 470. Neither Lehrs nor Hollstein list more than one state. Yet, the two reproduced impressions clearly represent two distinct states. In the print in Hollstein (for which no indication of ownership is given), there is no city on the horizon at the left. In the Lehrs plate (the Berlin impression), an elaborate city with a windmill has been added.*

[2] *See R. S. Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 52.*

[3] *Cf. Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *nos. 52-61.*

MASTER I.A.M. OF ZWOLLE

Active ca. 1470-90

The Master I.A.M. of Zwolle was a Dutch goldsmith and engraver, active primarily in the southern portion of the Netherlands between 1470 and 1490. Recent scholarship has rejected Nagler's thesis that Master I.A.M. was the painter known as Johann von Cöln.[1] The little instrument which often accompanies the master's monogram, formerly considered to be a weaver's shuttle, is actually a kind of drill used by medieval goldsmiths,[2] and is the only evidence for the assumption that I.A.M. was active in the goldsmith's profession. The final two letters in the word *zwott* which often appears on the Master I.A.M.'s engravings are no doubt intended as a double "l" rather than a double "t", referring to the town of Zwolle in northeastern Holland, probably the home of the artist. A recent attempt by the archivist of Zwolle, however, to identify Master I.A.M. as Jan van den Mynnesten, a Zwolle artist documented in 1462, has not been considered credible.[3]

Master I.A.M.'s early work reflects the influence of the late paintings of Roger van der Weyden as well as the work of the Antwerp engraver, Master W with the Key, who was himself notably influenced by Roger. The recent doctoral thesis of Elizabeth Finkenstaedt[4] presents some interesting new hypotheses regarding I.A.M.'s activity. Miss Finkenstaedt suggests that the marked change in the artist's style around 1485 was due to his arrival in the Delft-Haarlem region where he was exposed to the lively style of the painter known as the Master of the Virgin among the Virgins. At this point, around 1485, I.A.M.'s drapery style becomes more complex and sculptural. Whereas the drapery in his earliest prints is soft and fluid and the drapery in his prints of about 1480 is broad and ridgy, the drapery style of his prints after 1485 is characterized by short, hooked lines and deep, gouged-out areas which terminate in wedge-shaped indentations. It is as if the artist were thinking in sculptural terms in the works post-dating 1485. Indeed, several writers have felt that a number of I.A.M.'s engravings of this type were intended as patterns for wood carvings.

Miss Finkenstaedt also postulates a connection between I.A.M. and the woodcut designers who worked for the publisher Gerard Leeuw of Gouda.[5] There is no documentary and little stylistic evidence to support this hypothesis, and all that can be said with certainty is that some of I.A.M.'s engravings were known to Leeuw's woodcutters, who occasionally borrowed I.A.M.'s compositions.

Like his Netherlandish contemporary, Master FVB, I.A.M. tends to model his forms with very neat, dry, cross-hatched lines, carefully laid down in long parallel series. Unlike FVB, however, Master I.A.M. strives for painterly effects through the creation of deep shadows against which the figures stand out in firm relief. In contrast to the decorous compositions of Master FVB, Master I.A.M.'s compositions are extremely inventive and original, and he shows a preference for the animated, the dramatic, and the unexpected. His figures, typical of Dutch fifteenth-century art, have crude peasanty features and gouty hands and feet, often reminiscent of figures in paintings by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Aelbert van Ouwater. Sometimes, as in catalogue no. 135, his types become grimacing caricatures, and we are reminded that I.A.M. was a countryman and contemporary of Hieronymus Bosch.

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[1] *G. K. Nagler*, Die Monogrammisten, *III, no. 1774, pp. 741-46.*

[2] *Wilhelm Bühler, "Signaturen des Meisters von Zwolle,"* Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, *L, 1927, pp. 42-3.*

[3] *T. J. de Vries*, Geschiednis van Zwolle, *I, Zwolle, 1954,* p. *137. The Hollstein catalogue is ambiguous on this point but appears to accept the identification of I.A.M. as Mynnesten.*

[4] *Elizabeth Finkenstaedt*, The Master I.A.M. of Zwolle, *Cambridge, 1963 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University).*

[5] *Finkenstaedt, pp. 168-69*, et passim.

134

THE MOUNT OF CALVARY

Ca. 1480
Lehrs VII.188.6, third state
357 x 247 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with Flower, close to Briquet 8685 (Utrecht, 1461)

Provenance: E. Durand, Paris, Lugt 741; D. G. de Arozarena, Paris, Lugt 109; D. U., unidentified mark, Lugt 796; E. A. Seasongood; purchased from Arthur H. Harlow and Co., 1940
B-8335

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 107; *Middeleuwse Kunst*, no. 212, p. 159, pl. 107; K. G. Boon, "Le Maitre au Monogramme I. A.," *L'Oeil*, no. 64, 1960, p. 30; Hollstein, XII, pp. 260-61.

This engraving was probably executed shortly before 1480, toward the end of Master I.A.M.'s formative years. It is slightly awkward in composition, with a great press of figures artificially patched together in a shallow foreground space. The vertical composition, as well as the throng, are reminiscent of many late fifteenth-century carved altarpieces of the low countries. The individual figures in this engraving, however, are both compositionally and psychologically unrelated. The gazes and movements of the figures lead off in innumerable directions, forcing a dispersal of the observer's attention. There is no attempt at rational perspective. The background is indicated only through lighter and less detailed burin work than the foreground, much in the way that Schongauer indicates background distance. Immediately behind the foreground figure group is an outcropping of earth which the artist introduces to serve as a foil for the crowd. Master I.A.M. may have consciously borrowed this device from Schongauer's *Way to Calvary* (Lehrs V.69.9) or his *Battle of St. James* (catalogue no. 42). The horses seen in the right foreground are imitative of the horses in Schongauer's battle scene, while the little leaping dog is taken from Schongauer's *Way to Calvary*. The present writer must take issue with Carl Schniewind's assertion that Master I.A.M. was acquainted with the work of Donatello and Pisanello.[1] The foreshortened horses, which Schniewind cites as evidence of I.A.M.'s exposure to Italian art, probably derive from Schongauer's *Way to Calvary*.

The group of the swooning Madonna with St. John and the Magdalene goes back to a composition of Roger van der Weyden known through a copy in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, formerly attributed to Memling but probably by Roger's apprentice, Vrancke van der Stockt.[2] An engraving by Master W with the Key (Lehrs VII.25.1)[3] shares many features with our engraving and with the Chantilly painting, notable among which is the unusually shaped hexagonal "I.N.R.I." tablet above the cross in which the letter "r" resembles a "k".

Our engraving was copied in a small altarpiece by Marcellus Coffermans formerly in the Czartoryski collection,[4] and in a dotted print by the Master of Jesus in Bethany, dated by Field about 1480.[5] It was also copied in a woodcut which appears in Breydenbach, *Viaje de la Terra Santa* (Saragossa, 1498), and in a metalcut which survives only in four fragments in the Metropolitan Museum.[6] The figure of Longinus at the left of the cross was copied in a Bavarian painting of 1491 from Kloster Baumburg near Wasserburg, now in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich.[7]

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[1] First Century of Printmaking, *no. 107*.

[2] *Raoul de Broglie*, Cent Tableaux du Musée Condé, *Chantilly, n.d., pl. 26*.

[3] *Reproduced in Lehrs*, Tafelband *VII, plate 178, no. 454*.

[4] *Lehrs*, Kritischer Katalog, *VII, p. 191*.

[5] *Field*, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 341; W. Schreiber*, Die Meister der Metallschneidekunst nebst einem nach Schulen geordneten Katalog ihrer Arbeiten, *Strassburg, 1926, p. 53*.

[6] *For reproductions of the various copies of Master I.A.M.'s* Calvary *see John J. McKendry, "Four Fifteenth Century Crucifixions,"* Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, *XXV, 1966, pp. 1-6*.

[7] Katalog der Gemälde des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, *1908, no. 43, plate 7*.

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THE BETRAYAL OF CHRIST

Ca. 1485
Lehrs VII.184.4, plate 198, no. 487
325 x 237 mm.
Slightly cropped on all four sides so that signature is lacking; formerly covered with red paint of which traces remain after cleaning

Provenance: Gustav von Rath, Krefeld, Germany, Lugt 2772; purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-8334

References: The First Century of Printmaking, no. 105; Boon, *L'Oeil*, no. 64, p. 34; Hollstein, XII, p. 257.

Master I.A.M. apparently planned a series of Passion engravings but executed only three scenes: the *Last Supper* (L.2), the *Agony in the Garden* (L.3), and this engraving, the *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*. All three of these scenes are composed within an architectural framework, the figures pressed into the foreground plane in a way that suggests that the prints were intended as models for relief carvings.

In the background of this violent composition we see the prelude to Christ's capture by the Roman soldiers. Judas embraces Christ, betraying Him. Bringing up the rear of the troupe is Malchus, bearing a lantern on his head. In the foreground scene, Christ is taken captive by three soldiers in armor, while Judas greedily clutches his purse and looks on. Peter has already cut off the ear of Malchus, who drops the lantern and falls to the ground.

Because of the undisciplined composition and the vulgar types, Lehrs assumed this to be an early work of Master I.A.M. Finkenstaedt, however, places it around 1485,[1] when the artist's style became livelier and more expressionistic, and when he turned to deliberate distortion for the sake of heightened drama. The drapery folds have become choppy, zigzag patterns, and the figures are crowded so tightly into the space that the contours become inextricably intertangled, creating a complex animated surface. Master I.A.M.'s turbulent style is in perfect accord with the violence of the subject matter. There is a great spiritual and stylistic affinity between this engraving and Hieronymus Bosch's paintings, *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the museum in Ghent[2] and the *Crowning with Thorns* in the Escorial.[3] In Bosch's paintings, as in this engraving, little attention is paid to rational perspective, and grotesque caricatured faces are densely packed around the figure of Christ.

It has been suggested by Professor J. Bruyn of the University of Amsterdam that this engraving, although designed by Master I.A.M., was probably done by a pupil.[4] He feels that the execution is heavy-handed, and cites the poor burin work in Malchus' leg and Peter's left foot. We feel, however, that it is wholly original. The use of darkly shaded rocks to outline the main scene is a hallmark of I.A.M.'s style, as are the figure and facial types. Furthermore, the hatching is relatively lively throughout the scene, and the fallen lantern in the foreground emanating rays of light is a virtuoso piece of burin work.

This engraving was copied in fresco by Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo in 1496 in the church in Provesano, near Udine.

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[1] *Finkenstaedt, pp. 111-12.*
[2] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *V, fig. 82.*
[3] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *V. fig. 79.*
[4] *Finkenstaedt, pp. 111-12.*

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THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Ca. 1480-85
Lehrs VII.176.1
250 x 220 mm.
Watermark: Fragment of Gothic P
Slightly cropped at bottom and along left side; over 100 mm. missing at top; restored tear near sleeve of oldest magus at right

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5e, 5h; purchased from William Schab, 1956
B-22,137

References: Delen, I, p. 130, pl. 64; R. Kahn, *Die Graphik des Lucas van Leyden*, Strassburg, 1918, pp. 35-6, pl. 6; Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt*, pp. 78-9; *Middeleeuwse Kunst*, no. 216, p. 260; Hollstein, XII, p. 253

Master I.A.M.'s engraving conforms in almost all respects to traditional northern treatments of the *Adoration of the Magi*. The Madonna and Child are seated as Joseph stands by and the three Magi offer their gifts before a ruined temple. The temple is conceived as an "archaic" Romanesque building, alluding to the Temple of Solomon, which is said to have crumbled and decayed at the time of Christ's birth and the coming of the new order. Although something of the serenity of Roger van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece* is suggested, the figures have neither the dignity nor the lovely oval faces and slender features of Roger's types. They are, instead, lethargic peasant types with bulbous noses and somewhat clumsy hands. In this engraving, I.A.M.'s style approximates that of Hugo van der Goes. The kneeling king is closely related in pose and facial type to the corresponding figure in Hugo's *Monforte Altarpiece* in Berlin, usually dated about 1475.[1] Joseph and the Child recall the types found in paintings by Geertgen tot sint Jans and his school.[2]

Master I.A.M.'s cross-hatching, seen here at its most characteristic, is very finely and carefully executed. Because it is so rigidly systematic, however, it does little to differentiate textures and has a rather dry and stiff quality.

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[1] *Reproduced in Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *IV, fig. 17.*

[2] *See especially Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *V, fig. 3; also figs. 2, 4.*

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ST. CHRISTOPHER ON HORSEBACK

Ca. 1490
Lehrs VII.204.16
286 x 206 mm.
Cropped above upper margin so that the word *zwoll* is missing.
Watermark: Shield with three fleurs-de-lis, close to Briquet 1806 and 1808

Provenance: Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna (collector's mark on verso, not in Lugt, was adopted by P. and D. Colnaghi for prints formerly in the Liechtenstein Collection); purchased from Richard Zinser, 1953.
B-21,487

References: E. K. Stahl, *Die Legende vom Hl. Riesen Christophorus in der Graphik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,* 2 vols., Munich, 1920, pp. 21, 188, no. 97; *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin,* XXIV, 1926, p. 29; K. G. Boon, *L'Oeil,* no. 64, p. 31; Hollstein, XII, p. 271.

The depiction of St. Christopher on horseback is extremely unusual. The giant saint is almost always shown transporting the infant Christ across a turbulent river with the aid of a great pole (see Schongauer's version, cat. no. 81). Here, although Christopher holds a massive staff, he is mounted on a horse with rich trappings, and the river appears only in the far distance. Ernest Stahl has proposed that Master I.A.M. combined the traditional iconography of St. Christopher with that of St. George, or that the legend of a mounted St. Christopher was peculiar to some specific Lower Rhenish town where there was no bridge and the fording of a river was possible only on horseback.

K.G. Boon has offered a more plausible solution, suggesting that Master I.A.M.'s St. Christopher is combined with the representation of the *miles Christianus,* the Christian soldier. This theme goes back to St. Paul's metaphor comparing the moral Christian to the soldier preparing for battle.[1] It was expressed in Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis Christiani* of 1501 and appears in fifteenth-century woodcuts, as well as in sixteenth-century works of art, where it is sometimes combined with the theme of the Pilgrim's Progress. The best known example in art history of the Christian knight pursuing the path of virtue, ignoring all enemies of the moral life, is Dürer's *Knight, Death, and Devil* engraving of 1513.[2] It also appears, however, on the outside shutters of a little sixteenth-century triptych in the Rijksmuseum, the *Path of Life* by Jan Wellens de Cocq.[3] In that painting, the Christian knight rides a horse almost exactly like the one in our engraving, ignoring a whole army of Bosch-like phantoms and choosing the pathway of virtue marked by the cross. Significantly, Cocq's soldier bears on his arm the Christ Child, who appears to be guiding him. The artist has endowed the *miles Christianus* with the attribute of St. Christopher and merged the two images into one. Master I.A.M.'s St. Christopher was no doubt intended as an embodiment of the same idea, a combination of the traditional St. Christopher with the theme of the Christian rider following the path of virtue. Indeed, our St. Christopher appears to be looking up to the self-assured Christ child for guidance. In a metalcut copy of this engraving,[4] the pebble-strewn path has been transformed into a stream, indicating that the metalcut designer did not comprehend Master I.A.M.'s iconographical innovation.

The agitated, deeply cut drapery folds identify this engraving as a late work of the master. The graphic vocabulary is much richer and more varied than it was in the earlier works. The horse's coat is very sensitively suggested by delicate hatching, and the textures of the hills and the striated clouds are effectively described. The foliage of the trees on the right, based on the landscape background in Geertgen tot sint Jans' *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness* in Berlin, is also freshly handled.

It is known that some of Master I.A.M.'s prints found their way to Italy where they were copied by Italian engravers late in the fifteenth-century.[5] Clifford S. Ackley has kindly pointed out that this *St. Christopher* can be added to the list of I.A.M. prints known in Italy. All of the background details—the trees, buildings, and striated clouds—appear in reverse in an anonymous Florentine *St. Jerome* engraving (Hind D.IV.3),[6] dated by Hind about 1500.

The thin printing with light colored brownish ink is characteristic of Netherlandish engravings of the fifteenth century.

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1. *II Corinthians 10:3; Ephesians 6: 11-17.*
2. *For a discussion of this theme, see Erwin Panofsky,* Albrecht Dürer, *2 vol., Princeton, 1943, pp. 151-2.*
3. *Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, no. 699.*
4. *Schreiber 2604.*
5. *See A. M. Hind, "Italienische Stiche des XV. Jahrhunderts nach nordischen Originalen,"* Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, *1908, p. 104.*
6. *Reproduced in Hind,* Early Italian Engraving, *III, pl. 313.*

THE MASTER PW OF COLOGNE

Active ca. 1490-1510

The Master PW or P P W is especially noted for two significant groups of prints which constitute some four-fifths of the 97 engravings presently attributed to him. The first is an enormous engraving on six separate plates, illustrating the major events of Emperor Maximilian's unsuccessful military campaign against the Swiss in 1499, the so-called *Schweizerkrieg* or Swiss War (Lehrs 19 A-F).[1] These plates must have been engraved shortly after 1499, while the portrayed events were still "newsworthy" and the sheets readily marketable. Moreover, the individual subjects are so clearly particularized and detailed that they must have been quite fresh in the engraver's memory.

Master PW's figural style, which betrays a knowledge of early Dürer engravings, is far superior to his treatment of landscape. His highly animated individual figures and lively little groups of fighting soldiers are handled with great skill and imagination. His miniaturist's sensibility, however, was not suited to panoramic landscape, and there is something labored and artificial about the stylized trees and the fluffy cloud-like hills which fill the six sheets of the *Swiss War*.

The second notable series in the *oeuvre* of the Master PW—probably done between 1500 and 1505—is a set of 72 small round playing cards (Lehrs 20-91). The inscription "Salve Felix Colonia" on the title page of the playing card set (Lehrs 20), and the basically Cologne dialect of the descriptive legends on the *Schweizerkrieg* plates provide the chief evidence that Master PW was a native of Cologne.[2] Lehrs has also interpreted the middle figure of the monogram P P W, which frequently appears on the master's prints, as a P with a reversed and inverted C, which might stand for "pictor coloniensis."

The playing cards, none of which bears a monogram, and the *Schweizerkrieg* sheets have not always been ascribed to one and the same artist. In the nineteenth century, indeed, the present corpus of PW engravings was attributed to a number of hypothetical hands. On two successive pages of his *Peintre-Graveur*,[3] Passavant described two distinct masters, one the author of the *Schweizerkrieg* engravings, presumably a South German, and the other, the Master of the Round Playing Cards, a North German. The most misleading suggestion of nineteenth-century scholarship, however, was that of Thausing, who felt that the *Schweizerkrieg* had been done in Nuremberg by a soldier-artist in the service of Maximilian, under the command of Dürer's friend Pirkheimer.[4] Thausing suggested that the letters P and W referred to Pleydenwurff and Wolgemut, prominent Nuremberg artists of the generation before Dürer, in whose workshops the engraver had presumably studied.

Max Lehrs was the first to see the stylistic and technical affinities which link the *Schweizerkrieg* plates and the playing cards.[5] In 1887, Wilhelm Schmidt analyzed the dialect on the *Schweizerkrieg* plates, showing that it is composed of a mixture of Upper and Lower Rhenish characteristics with a preponderance of Cologne elements.[6] This supported Lehrs's concept of PW as a Cologne engraver active along the Rhine, and in all subsequent literature the artist has been referred to as Master PW of Cologne.

The most thorough recent publication on Master PW is the dissertation of Ernest Schleuter, which appeared in 1935.[7] Schleuter took issue with Lehrs's list of authentic PW prints—which had been published five years earlier[8]—and cast doubt on five of the engravings Lehrs had given unconditionally to the master.[9] Most of Schleuter's book, however, is devoted to reconstructing the events of Master PW's life from the meager evidence which survives.

On the basis of what he considers to be a close stylistic similarity between the *St. Jerome* (L.12)[10]—the earliest and most archaic PW engraving—to certain paintings of the Salzburg School of 1470-80 as well as to panels by the Salzburg painters Rueland Frueauf the Elder and the Younger, Schleuter contradicts the entire tradition of PW scholarship and asserts that the youthful Master PW had his origins in Austria in the workshop of the Frueauf family.[11] Schleuter emphasizes particularly the similarities of the *St. Jerome* engraving to the Austrian painting of the *Crucifixion* of ca. 1470, now in the Lower Belvedere, Vienna.[12] He argues that the painting and the engraving are identical in terms of the female facial types, the stiff drapery treatment, and the rigid, frozen quality of the composition. Schleuter contends further that the construction of the face and head of St. Jerome is comparable to that of the Christ in Frueauf's *Agony in the Garden*, one of eight large panels of an altarpiece of 1490/91 also now in Vienna.[13] After 1495, the influence of Frueauf the Elder waned, according to Schleuter, and the engraver came under the influence of the more graceful style of the younger Frueauf.[14]

Schleuter goes on to suggest that PW left Salzburg before 1499 and traveled to Switzerland where he became a resident of Basel. Partial to the Swiss point of view, he engraved the *Schweizerkrieg* plates to celebrate Basel's freedom and to glorify the Swiss victory in 1499. From Basel, PW traveled down the Rhine to Strassburg, where he designed woodcuts for the great Strassburg publisher, Johann Grüninger. Schleuter deduces PW's Strassburg sojourn from the stylistic and technical connections which relate the *Schweizerkrieg* engravings and the woodcuts illustrating two of Grüninger's publications of 1502.[15] The woodcut illustrations in these two books do indeed seem to be dependent in concept and imagery upon the *Schweizerkrieg* plates, and even the woodcutting technique seems to imitate the fine, thin burin lines characteristic of Master PW.

Finally, in 1502 or 1503, PW arrived in Cologne where he produced his masterpiece, the set of round playing cards, and where he spent the remainder of his life.

Most of Schleuter's propositions are dubious. Although we must agree that the earliest work of Master PW is somewhat related to specific Austrian paintings of the late fifteenth century, the affinities are, for the most part, general—those of "period style"—and are not adequate to support Schleuter's contentions.

It is difficult to believe that an engraver like PW would have been apprenticed in the workshop of Frueauf, a painter who never made a print. Also, a good case can be made for relating the *St. Jerome* engraving, the touchstone of

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General

Schleuter's Frueauf-workshop hypothesis, to the Cologne school rather than the school of Salzburg. The engraving compares in general composition and in the types and proportions of figures with the *Legend of St. Anthony and St. Paul* in the Munich Pinakothek, a painting by a Cologne master of about 1500.[16] The painter's peculiar method of creating the landscape of little irregularly-shaped hills and rock formations which seem to flow into one another like some gelatinous substance is strikingly similar to PW's landscape treatment.

The PW engraving also calls to mind several other Cologne painters, namely the Master of the Life of the Virgin and the Master of the Lyversberg Passion, both active in the last third of the century. The facial types characteristic of these two masters as well as the sharply angular folds of their drapery certainly approximate the style of Master PW. Moreover, these Cologne artists tend to organize the space in their paintings in much the way that PW does, with the major figures on slightly elevated land in the foreground, and with subsidiary events distributed throughout the background as discrete and isolated units.[17]

It is also significant that the only well-preserved impression of PW's *St. Jerome* engraving (in the Dresen printroom) bears a watermark—a heart surmounted by a cross (Briquet 4232-35)—which is found only in prints and books of the low countries, northeast France, and the lower Rhineland. Indeed, the only other engraver of the fifteenth century in whose work the watermark appears is the Bruges artist, Master FVB. This evidence is certainly irreconcilable with Schleuter's attempt to place Master PW in Salzburg, and suggests instead that the young engraver was active in northwest Germany. The engravings in which Schleuter claims to see the younger Frueauf's influence (see footnote 14) are, iconographically and stylistically, in the Rhenish tradition. The *Madonna* (Lehrs 6), based on Schongauer, represents a transmutation and slight stiffening of Schongauer's style almost identical to that wrought by the Master FVB. The mincing poses and the attenuated arms and legs of PW's *Landsknechte* (Lehrs 14, 15) go back to Master E.S., while the burin technique of even the earliest PW engravings is clearly dependent on Schongauer's innovations. The faces of PW's figures in these early prints often display that slight coarsening of Schongauer's ideal type common to Netherlandish and Lower Rhenish printmakers of ca. 1490, such as Master FVB and Master I.A.M. of Zwolle.[18]

Schleuter's assertion that PW traveled to Switzerland around 1490, following his years of apprenticeship in Salzburg, is also, of course, erroneous. Schmidt's analysis in 1887 of the *Schweizerkrieg* inscriptions revealed that they were essentially in the Cologne dialect, an opinion with which all later studies have been in accord.[19] It is impossible to explain the presence of Lower Rhenish spellings and word forms in the work of an engraver who had lived previously only in Salzburg and Basel.

It seems much more likely to the present writer that PW was originally a Cologne artist who traveled up the Rhine around the year 1500 and—perhaps in Basel—created his great *Schweizerkrieg* plates. His mixture of Upper and Lower Rhenish dialects represents either the unwitting combination of the artist's native dialect with the dialect of his new environment, or a conscious attempt to master the Swiss idiom in order to increase the marketability of the sheets in the South German region. A Rhine trip by Master PW at the turn of the century would also help explain the interaction of the Master PW's style with that of the woodcut illustrations in Grüninger's books of 1502.

Schleuter's thesis, then, can be discarded. The several PW engravings he relates to the younger Frueauf are certainly Rhenish in style and temperament. Unless some document is unearthed which identifies Master PW and provides presently unknown facts about his life and activity, we must conclude on the basis of the existing evidence that he was a Lower Rhenish artist whose activity took place primarily at Cologne, but whose travels may have taken him as far south as Strassburg and Basel.

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1. *Reproduced in Schleuter, pl. IV and V, and in H. Höhn, "Der Kupferstich des Meisters PW von Köln mit der Darstellung des sog. Schweizerkrieges,"* Kunstrundschau, *XLVII, 1939, pp. 64-69.*

2. *Among other evidence is the preponderance of Lower Rhenish watermarks on his engravings, the Cologne fashions in which his female figures are normally attired, the fact that he engraved the coat-of-arms of Walther von Bilsen (1451-1512), a canon of Aachen (L.19), and that some of his prints were found pasted in a prayer book produced in Cologne.*

3. *Passavant, I, pp. 212-13.*

4. *Moritz Thausing,* Albrecht Dürer, *Leipzig, 1876, I, pp. 180 ff.*

5. *Lehrs,* Die Ältesten Spielkarten, *pp. 27 ff.*

6. *Wilhelm Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte des Ältesten Kupferstichs,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *X, 1887, pp. 131-32.*

7. *Ernst Schleuter,* Der Meister PW, *Strassburg-Leipzig, 1935 (Volume 305 of Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte).*

8. *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VII, 1930, pp. 250-330.*

9. *L.4, L.9, L.13, L.17, L.96. See Schleuter's catalogue, esp. pp. 70-73.*

10. *Reproduced in Schleuter, pl. I, and in Lehrs,* Tafelband *VII, p. 208.*

11. *Schleuter, pp. 28-38.*

12. *Reproduced in Otto Pächt,* Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Gotik, *Vienna, 1929, pl. 39. This painting, claimed as a Frueauf by Schleuter, is now considered an anonymous work of the Salzburg School.*

13. *Reproduced in Schleuter, pl. IX, and in Ludwig Baldass,* Konrad Laib und die beiden Rueland Frueauf, *Vienna, 1946, pl. 78.*

14. *The prints supposedly influenced by Frueauf the Younger are Lehrs 2, 11, 14, 15, 16.*

15. *The Works of Virgil—*Publij Virgilij Marois Opera*—edited by Sebastian Brandt (see F. A. Ebert,* Deutsche Bücherkunde, *Leipzig, 1825-27, no. 23665) and* Der Heilige Leben *(see E. O. Weller,* Repertorium typographicum, *Nördlingen, 1864, no. 232). A woodcut from each of these books is reproduced in P. Kristeller,* Die Strassburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfänge des XVI. Jahrhunderts, *Leipzig, 1888, pl. 16, 19.*

16. *Accession no. WAF 452; reproduced in* Art Quarterly, *XIX, 1956, p. 106.*

17. *For this point compare especially the Master of the Life of the Virgin's* Visitation, *Munich (WAF 623), reproduced in Katalog II,* Altdeutsche Malerei, *Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1963, p. 240, and the* St. Paul and St. Anthony *mentioned in footnote 16.*

18. *See especially PW's* Samson and Delilah *(Lehrs 2), reproduced in Lehrs,* Tafelband *VII, p. 209.*

19. *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VII, pp. 252-53.*

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THE JACK OF PARROTS

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VII.313.74
Diameter: 68 mm.

Provenance: British Museum duplicate; Rudolf Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna, Lugt 2770; purchased from William Schab, 1948
B-14,968

References: Lippman, *Der Kupferstich,* pp. 34-35, pl. 18; Lehrs *Die Ältesten deutschen Spielkarten des Königlichen Kupferstichkabinetts zu Dresden,* Dresden, 1885, pl. 25, fig. 81

A deck of fifteenth-century German playing cards is normally comprised of either 52 or 56 cards, consisting of ten number cards and three or four "court" or figure cards in each of four suits.[1] The Master PW's deck, however, one of the few round sets in the history of Western playing cards, is made up of a title page and end-sheet as well as 14 cards in five suits: roses, columbines, carnations, parrots, and rabbits. The extra suit may have been intended to replace one of the others at the owner's desire, or may have permitted some complicated games which are no longer known. Although at least one impression of all 72 sheets has survived to our time, Master PW's deck is not preserved intact in any one collection.

In most early playing cards, the jacks or knaves are represented as knights on horseback. In this deck, however, they are men-at-arms ready for combat. Our knave carries a long curved sword and a spiked mace on the end of a long pole. The stiff marionette-like movements of the figure as well as the ornamental filling of the surface are characteristic of the Master PW. The Moorish facial type of the knave is borrowed from Schongauer,[2] and one feels that PW's assured hatching in neat parallels would have been impossible had he not been acquainted with Schongauer's technical accomplishments.

It is also likely that Master PW knew Dürer's early engravings. The solidity and the realistic proportions of the figure as well as the stippled modeling on his face and legs call to mind the figures in numerous early Dürer prints. PW's treatment of "landscape" in this playing card—the clump of grass at the right and the pebble-strewn road, with each pebble casting a shadow consisting of three or four horizontal burin strokes—is also extremely similar to that of early Dürer.[3]

The costume of our figure, especially his bluntly rounded shoes, suggests a date near 1500 when the sharply pointed shoes which were popular throughout the fifteenth century suddenly went out of fashion.

Every card in Master PW's deck has a little black spot at the geometrical center, suggesting that a compass, the point of which actually penetrated the copper surface, was employed in drawing the concentric circles of the border. The near perfection of the circles attests to their having been engraved with the aid of some mechanical device. The black dot in our print appears in the middle of the knave's belt.

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1. For a discussion of fifteenth-century playing cards see catalogue no. 9.

2. Compare the face of the youngest king in Schongauer's Adoration of the Magi *(cat. no. 39) or the helmeted soldier in the right background of the* Betrayal *(cat. no. 52).*

3. Dürer's, The Six Soldiers *(Meder 81) and* The Little Courier *(Meder 79), both of about 1496, are good examples of these points.*

THE MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK

Active ca. 1465-1500

Despite the abundant literature concerning the Master of the Housebook,[1] nothing definite has yet been discovered about his identity or place of origin. It is not even sure if he was German or Netherlandish. Some scholars have felt that his style is rooted in Flemish book illumination.[2] Others see him developing in the circle of the stained glass painter, Peter Hemmel von Andlau, or in the workshop of Hans Hirtz (The Master of the Karlsruhe Passion), the leading painter of Strassburg in the 1450's. In recent years, new evidence has been forwarded for the identification of the Housebook Master as Erhard Reuwich, a painter from Utrecht who worked in Mainz and who designed the woodcuts for Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam*, published in Mainz in 1486. This theory has found as many opponents as it has adherents.[3]

Regardless of the artist's origins it seems clear that the Housebook Master worked primarily in the Middle Rhine region around Mainz and that he was acquainted with the work of an Upper Rhenish predecessor, the Master E.S. There is evidence that he worked in Heidelberg in 1480. He appears to have been an exact contemporary of Martin Schongauer, and like Schongauer he was active as both a painter and printmaker.[4] Like Schongauer, the Housebook Master inspired the young Albrecht Dürer and echoes of his style are found in Dürer's early prints and drawings. Here, however, the similarity ends. Whereas Schongauer's formal engraving style strives toward terse compositional formulations and an insistent neatness of technique, the Housebook Master's style is lively and improvised and his burin manner is soft, loose, and colorful. Schongauer's prints appear cool and impersonal next to the charming, vivacious engravings of the Master of the Housebook. The latter master emphasizes the human qualities of his figures, taking delight in human foibles, and often invests even his religious subjects—which constitute only about half his *oeuvre*—with a freshness and intimacy.

The name "Housebook Master" is derived from the famous manuscript of about 1480 known as the *Housebook*, now in the collection of Count Waldburg-Wolfegg in southwest Germany. The book is a conglomeration of about 60 pages of manuscript texts and original drawings, including allegories of the seven planets, genre representations, designs of military equipment, battle scenes, and coats of arms.[5] The hand of our engraver has been recognized in a number of the drawings, though several different draftsmen appear to be responsible for the opus.

Of the 91 surviving engravings by the Housebook Master, 78 are listed by Lehrs as unique.[6] The print room of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns 82 of the 91 prints. Hence, in the older literature our artist is often referred to as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. The reason so few of his prints have survived may be tied up in part with the artist's technique and his use of tin rather than copper plates. Using a soft metal like tin, the burin can be more easily and sketchily pushed through the plate's surface. As the burin digs a furrow in the plate, it turns up curls of metal on either side of the engraved furrow. The curls, known as the burr, hold a quantity of ink (in addition to the ink in the lines) and create a rich velvety or blurred effect when printed. Such an effect is seen in the blades of grass at the right of cat. no. 139. The Housebook Master took advantage of the burr to obtain a variety of tone and texture in his plates. Since the burr is worn away after but few impressions have been pulled, the Housebook Master may have decided not to print additional sheets which would lack the rich freshness of his original conception. Hence, only a small edition was printed from each plate. Of course, we must also assume the existence of a number of plates from which no impressions at all have survived. There are some 32 engravings by Master b g and Israhel van Meckenem which appear to be copies after lost originals of the Housebook Master.

Curt Glaser placed the Housebook Master's engravings in chronological sequence in 1912;[7] both Lehrs and Stange[8] have accepted Glaser's dating.

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1. The extensive literature up to 1912 is listed in H. T. Bossert and Willy Storck, Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch, *Leipzig, 1912, pp. 54-67; more recent literature is listed in the Thieme-Becker* Künstlerlexikon, *XXXVII, p. 142 and in J. C. J. Bierens de Haan,* De Meester van Het Amsterdamsch Kabinet, *Amsterdam, 1947,* passim.

2. See esp. Ernstotto, Graf zu Solms-Laubach, "Der Hausbuchmeister," Staedel-Jahrbuch, *IX, 1935/36, pp. 13-40.*

3. The Reuwich identification was first suggested by A. Pit in "La Gravure dans les Pays-Bas au XV. Siecle," Revue de l'Art Chrétien, *XLI, 1891, pp. 496-97. It has been revived by Solms-Laubach,* Der Hausbuchmeister, *pp. 70-95, and has involved numerous German scholars. For a review of the literature see R. S. Field,* Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts, *nos. 18-23; A relevant article that has evaded the bibliographers is Lottlisa Behling, "Der Hausbuchmeister, Erhard Reuwich,"* Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, *V, 1951, pp. 179-190.*

4. The Housebook Master's activity as a painter was first noted by E. Flechsig, "Der Meister des Hausbuchs als Maler," Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, *VIII, 1897, pp. 8-17, 66-73; All paintings attributed to the Housebook Master are reproduced in A. Stange,* Der Hausbuchmeister, *Strassburg, 1958 (vol. 316, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte).*

5. See Johannes, Graf Waldburg-Wolfegg, Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch, *Munich, 1957.*

6. According to Jane C. Hutchison, "The Housebook Master and the Folly of the Wise Man," Art Bulletin, *XLVIII, 1966, p. 74, footnote 4, only 67 are unique. Miss Hutchison is the author of an unpublished doctoral dissertation,* The Hausbuchmeister: Studies in style and iconography, *University of Wisconsin, 1964.*

7. Curt Glaser, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Stiche des Hausbuchmeisters," Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, *III, pp. 145-56.*

8. Stange, Der Hausbuchmeister, *pp. 13-18.*

139

TWO PEASANTS FIGHTING

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs VIII.141.64
72 x 66 mm.

Provenance: Gustav von Rath, Krefeld, Lugt 2772; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-11,144

References: Bossert und Storch, *Hausbuch*, p. 44; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 79; Stange, *Hausbuchmeister*, p. 14

One of the early writers on the Housebook Master, H. A. Klinkhamer,[1] listed this engraving as "Jacob Struggling with the Angel." The nineteenth-century scholar could not fully grasp the significance of the Housebook Master as a genre artist, one who delighted in the observation of nature and man, and who presented his scenes with a disarming naiveté and simplicity. There is in fact no hidden subject matter or allegorical meaning. Two peasants have simply met on the highway and have dropped their staffs, cloak, and hat in order to engage in some friendly horseplay. The drawing is loose and free, perfectly suited to the informality of the subject matter.

Only one other impression of this engraving is preserved in Amsterdam.

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1. H. A. Klinkhamer, Les Estampes indécrites du Musée d'Amsterdam, *Brussels, 1857, no. 1.*

MASTER b g

Active ca. 1470-90

For many years, the second letter in this master's monogram was interpreted as an "s," and he was commonly identified as the fictitious personality Barthel Schön or Barthel Schongauer. Eduard Flechsig first pointed out in 1911 that the letter is in fact a "g."[1] Flechsig also brought forth evidence for localizing the artist in the Middle Rhine region near Frankfurt, rather than in Schongauer's Upper Rhenish realm. Of the 46 prints now attributed to Master b g, only six betray any Schongauer influence, while 39 clearly show dependence upon the Housebook Master, who was also active in the region of the Middle Rhine. Seven of b g's prints, indeed, are direct copies after known works by the Master of the Housebook. It is postulated that most of the others were copied from Housebook Master prints or drawings which have not survived. Curiously, there are only six religious prints in b g's entire *oeuvre*, while the remainder are ornaments, heraldic prints, or genre scenes. This is further evidence of the Housebook Master's impact on Master b g.

Geisberg[2] has suggested that b g may be identical with the Frankfurt goldsmith Bartholomäus Gobel, who is mentioned in 1495 in a list of Frankfurt's citizenry. Certainly the firm, sure burin lines of Master b g are distant from the free, sketchy burin work of the Housebook Master and suggest that b g was trained in a goldsmith's atelier.

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[1] *E. Flechsig, "Der Meister des Hausbuchs als Zeichner für den Holzschnitt,"* Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, *IV, 1911, p. 163 ff.*

[2] *Geisberg,* Geschichte, *pp. 203-04.*

140

THE ARMS OF ROHRBACH AND HOLZHAUSEN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs VIII.212.40
96 x 93 mm.

Provenance: Maltzan Collection, Militsch; purchased from H. Eisemann, 1952
B-20,215

References: Flechsig, *Meister des Hausbuchs*, pp. 165 ff.; Bossert and Storch, *Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, p. 43, footnote 3; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 203; Thieme-Becker *Künstlerlexikon*, XXXVII, 1950, p. 379

This engraving depicts the heraldry of two noble families of Frankfurt: Rohrbach and Holzhausen. It is the major piece of evidence that locates Master b g in the Frankfurt area. The Rohrbach coat of arms is composed of two links of a chain, the top link firmly held by two hands; the Holzhausen device is made up of three roses, two above one. It was long thought that this print was created to commemorate the marriage in September, 1466 of Bernhard von Rohrbach and Adelgunde von Holzhausen. The shields, however, are capped by a crowned helmet. The helmet was not part of the Rohrbach escutcheon until after 1470. In that year Emperor Frederick III gave Bernhard's father, Heinrich von Rohrbach, permission to incorporate this new element into the Rohrbach coat of arms. Recent scholarship[1] has come to the conclusion that the print was intended not as a matrimonial shield but as an "ex libris," and that it was not commissioned until the late 1480's by the son of Bernhard and Adelgunde, who was born in 1467, a year after their marriage. The figures in the engraving are clearly not portraits of the married couple, but variations on types invented by the Housebook Master. Furthermore, the style presupposes the style of the Housebook Master's prints of the 1480's.[2] Indeed, Lehrs claims that the engraving is a copy of a lost Housebook Master drawing. This certainly rules out a date around 1466. The tendency to date this (and hence b g's other engravings after the Housebook Master) in the late 1480's gives support to Geisberg's supposition that the engraver was Bartholomäus Gobel, who is not documented in Frankfurt until 1495.

In 1856, the copper plate for this engraving was discovered in the Holzhausen family archives in Frankfurt and a large edition was printed at that time. Our impression, however, is one of the four known to Lehrs which was printed in the fifteenth century. Master b g's tiny monogram appears at the very bottom of the plate, under the male figure's left foot.

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[1] *For a review of the literature see Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VIII, pp. 213-17 and Geisberg,* Geschichte, *p. 203.*

[2] *Compare especially the* Youth with the Turnip Shield, *L. 87, reproduced in Stange,* Hausbuchmeister, *pl. 85.*

MASTER h w

Active ca. 1481-82

Nagler[1] first identified Master h w as the Munich goldsmith, Hans von Windsheim, a personality documented between 1450 and 1522, and the only known goldsmith of South Germany whose initials correspond to the monogram which appears on eight of the master's engravings.[2] The "cardinal's hat" watermark which appears on many of h w's 17 prints points to the engraver's activity in Franconia and Bavaria, supporting Nagler's hypothesis. Though Lehrs provisionally accepted the identification of h w as Hans von Windsheim, Geisberg found it untenable.[3]

One of h w's rare[4] engravings bears the date 1481 and two are dated 1482.[5] His burin technique is rigid and his lines are deeply incised. His forms are starkly stylized and he has little feeling for naturalism.

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[1] *Nagler,* Die Monogrammisten, *III, p. 706, no. 1691.*

[2] *For the documentary material on Hans von Windsheim see Max Frankenburger,* Die Altmünchener Goldschmiede und ihre Kunst, *Munich, 1912, p. 273.*

[3] *Geisberg,* Geschichte, *p. 204.*

[4] *Fourteen of h w's prints are unique and none of the other three are known in more than three impressions.*

[5] *Wilhelm Schmidt, "Notizen,"* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *X, 1887, p. 337.*

141

COAT OF ARMS WITH LION AND UNICORN

Ca. 1480-90.
Lehrs VIII.240.15
221 x 157 mm.
Four manuscript notes added to upper half of sheet

Provenance: Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Catalogue no. 35, 1935, no. 264; purchased from Alden Gallery, Kansas City, 1940
B-2758

The coat of arms represented in this engraving probably does not relate to a specific family, but uses common heraldic symbols and was intended as a model for artisans in other media. It bears a general resemblance to a woodcut coat of arms in our collection, the bookplate of the Abbey of Ottobeuren near Munich.[1]

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[1] *Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 286.*

MAIR VON LANDSHUT

Active ca. 1485-1510

Mair von Landshut was a painter, engraver, and woodcut designer who was born about 1450, probably in Freising near Munich.[1] He produced 25 prints: three woodcuts and 22 engravings. Most of the prints are signed "MAIR," and ten are dated 1499. In the Munich tax records of 1490 there is mention of a "Mair maler von Freising." Buchheit[2] has suggested that Mair came to Munich from Freising in 1490 to collaborate with Jan Polack on his *St. Peter Altarpiece,* now in the Bavarian National Museum. By 1495 at the latest, Mair was back in Freising where he painted a large panel for the sacristy of the cathedral.[3] One of Mair's 1499 engravings (Lehrs VII.321.19) contains the coat of arms of Landshut (three helmets, two above one), and it has been assumed that Mair spent a good portion of his life in that Bavarian town. Several writers[4] have identified Mair as one Nicolaus Alexander Mair, a painter who is documented in 1492, 1499, and 1514. Schubert,[5] Lehrs,[6] Geisberg,[7] and Stange[8] have challenged this notion and claim that our Mair is in no way related to Nicolaus Mair.

Although Mair von Landshut lacks the technical virtuosity and refinement of Schongauer or even the late Meckenem, his work is imaginative and charming and possesses a quality something like the fresh naiveté of the Housebook Master. Mair's doll-like figures occupy fantastic architectural spaces, with walls joining at the most unlikely angles. The scenes resemble whimsical stage sets, and are endowed with an unreal character, like something from a fairy tale. The mood is often enhanced by the presence of color which produces a nighttime effect. Mair was probably inspired to experiment with color effects because of the increasing popularity in the 1490's of heightened drawings on prepared paper. After printing normally on prepared colored paper, Mair added highlights with a brush in white, red, or yellow, creating the effect of original drawings. Although Mair did not actually print his colors, he anticipated the accomplishments of the chiaroscuro woodcut, which was not invented until about a decade later.

Mair's drawing of drapery with long, looping curves is akin to that of several South German artists active in the 1490's, the Master of the

Rohrdorfer Altar[9] and the youthful Bernhard Strigel.[10]

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[1] *The basic monograph on Mair is Franz Schubert,* Mair von Landshut, ein niederbayrischer Stecher und Maler des ausgehenden XV. Jahrhunderts, *Landshut, 1930; Mair's paintings are reproduced in Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *X, pls. 203-11; a selection of his drawings is reproduced in W. Hugelshofer, "Zum Werk des Mair von Landshut,"* Oberdeutsche Kunst der Spätgotik und Reformationszeit *(Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, I), Augsburg, 1924, pp. 111-19.*

[2] *H. Buchheit,* Landshuter Tafelgemälde des 15. Jahrhunderts und der Landshuter Hans Wertinger, *Leipzig, 1907, p. 18.*

[3] *Reproduced in Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *X, pl. 203.*

[4] *Esp. G. K. Nagler,* Die Monogrammisten, *II, no. 987.*

[5] *Schubert,* Mair von Landshut, *pp. 8-9.*

[6] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VIII, p. 282.*

[7] *Geisberg,* Geschichte, *p. 206.*

[8] *Stange,* Deutsche Malerei, *X, p. 125.*

[9] *See Jan Lauts,* Altdeutsche Meister aus der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, *Karlsruhe, 1958, no. 17; also* Katalog der Staatsgalerie Stuttgart: Alte Meister, *Stuttgart, 1962, pl. 12.*

[10] *See K. T. Parker and W. Hugelshofer, "Bernhardin Strigel als Zeichner,"* Belvedere, *VIII, 1925, pp. 29-44.*

142

THE NATIVITY

Dated 1499
Lehrs VIII.298.5
200 x 133 mm.
Printed in black on green tinted paper; white and yellow highlights added with brush

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 162, Nov. 5, 1929, no. 427; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-11,158

References: Schubert, *Mair von Landshut,* pp. 63-65; Hind, *History,* pp. 35-36; *The First Century of Printmaking,* no. 119; Elizabeth Mongan, *Selections from the Rosenwald Collection,* Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1943, p. 25; *Color in Prints,* Yale University Art Gallery, 1962, no. 2, pp. 9-10

This engraving, dated 1499 and signed on a tablet at the bottom, is a fine example of Mair's attempt to emulate the qualities of heightened pen drawings on dark paper. The white and yellow touches added by hand after printing create a crisp pattern of highlights and emphasize the moonlit or starlit effect. This engraving is also characteristic of Mair's "cubistic" dollhouse architecture, filled with doors, windows and passageways on different levels. We look through a curious arched opening into a courtyard where the Madonna holds her good-natured infant Son, whom she has just taken out of His basket. A ray of light from the star penetrates through the wooden ceiling and reaches all the way to Christ's halo. Joseph looks on from a doorway at the left, while a shepherd appears in a window in the background. The angel peering over a cornice at the top reminds one of figures by the Housebook Master, while the sculptures at the base of the arch and in the niches in the top corners recall the acrobat playing cards of Master E.S. (L.241-51, cf. cat. no. 9).

MASTER MZ

Active ca. 1500

Master MZ is known to have worked at Munich. He provided posterity with two engravings dated 1500 which portray life at the court of Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria (cat. nos. 152-53). Of MZ's 22 engravings, six are dated 1500, 1501, or 1503. MZ is sometimes identified as Martin Zink, Matthäus Zagel, or as the documented Munich goldsmith Matthäus Zaisinger. Zaisinger is mentioned in the Munich archives as a printer in 1505[1] and as a goldsmith in 1498 and 1508.[2] He appears to have held office at the ducal mint in Munich from about 1520 until about 1555. According to Lehrs, in 1574, when Zaisinger was 77, he produced a seal for the ducal court. Lehrs[3] has pointed out that if Zaisinger were 77 in 1574, he would have been only three years old when the earliest dated MZ engraving was produced. Furthermore, MZ's delicate and spontaneous burin work and his interest in atmospheric effects suggest that he was not a goldsmith, but a painter who engraved only a few plates. Voss and Winkler[4] attribute to MZ eight panel paintings located in Berching (Upper Palatinate) which depict the Life of St. Lawrence. It is possible that the "Matthéus Zaysinger" who recurs in the Munich archives between 1505 and 1574 represents two individuals, father and son. Johann Fritz, in his excellent book on goldsmiths' work in the late middle ages,[5] has recently revived the theory that MZ was Zaisinger (or Zasinger). He claims that Lehrs misinterpreted the Zaisinger documents and that Zaisinger died not in the 1570's but rather about 1555, since his wife is mentioned in a document of 1557 as the widow Zaisinger. Fritz's major piece of evidence, however, is the engraved image on the back of a reliquary box in the monastery church at Andechs, dated 1501 and known to be by Zaisinger.[6] The engraving shows the Madonna and Child attended by two angels. Zaisinger's engraving, like much of MZ's work, is copied after an early Dürer, in this case the *Holy Family with the Butterfly* (B.44, Meder 42). The style and technique of the engraving by Zaisinger, as well as the style of the lettered inscription, correspond to the engravings of Master MZ, and Fritz leaves little doubt that Matthäus Zaisinger and Master MZ were one and the same personality.

MZ's prints, which betray a profound debt to Dürer's engravings of the 1490's (cat. nos. 144-46, 150-51), seem to have been created within a short span of time; we can discern no major stylistic or technical development from one engraving to the next. MZ's non-tectonic compositions and his free, loose burin work, as well as the mannered proportions of his figures and his complicated draperies which end in capacious labyrinths of little soft folds, are said by Voss[7] to have inspired Albrecht Altdorfer and the Danube school.

Most of MZ's copper plates survived well into the sixteenth century and were reprinted in posthumous editions. The early impressions are rich and velvety and are usually printed on paper with the watermark of the large bull's head with a serpent on a cross, or the high-crown watermark so often found on Dürer's prints. The later impressions are usually printed on papers with the watermarks of the coat of arms of Cleves, Augsburg, or Nuremberg.

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[1] *Georg Leidinger, "Studien zum Turnierbuch Herzogs Wilhelm IV. von Bayern,"* Altbayrische Monatschrift, *XII, Munich, 1913/14, p. 110.*

[2] *Max Frankenburger,* Die Altmünchener Goldschmiede und Ihre Kunst, *Munich, 1912, p. 38ff.*

[3] *Max Lehrs. "The Master MZ,"* Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVI, 1929, p. 237.*

[4] *See F. Winkler in* Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, *LX, 1939, p. 30.*

[5] *Johann Michael Fritz,* Gestochene Bilder, Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik, *Cologne-Graz, 1966, pp. 219-21; cat. no. 22, pp. 445-46.*

[6] *Reproduced in Fritz,* Gestochene Bilder, *p. 219, fig. 187.*

[7] *H. Voss,* Der Ursprung des Donaustiles, *Leipzig, 1907, pp. 107-27.*

143

ST. CHRISTOPHER

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VIII.350.3
185 x 129 mm.

Provenance: H. E. ten Cate, Almelo, Lugt 533b; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2732

References: E. K. Stahl, *Die Legende vom hl. Riesen Christophorus in der Graphik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,* Munich, 1920, p. 194; Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 213

For the legend of St. Christopher see cat. no. 81. Master MZ's Christopher is a great bearded giant with long muscular legs. Regardless of his size and apparent strength, Christopher's face shows the strain of performing his duty; he must use his left hand to help support the enormous weight of the Christ Child. Despite certain realistic effects (Christopher's feet seen through the water, clouds blowing through the sky at the upper right) the total impression is bizarre. The figure is weirdly mannered, his tiny head too small for the enormous body, and his awkward stance, legs spread wide apart, is improbable. The overabundant drapery expands to fill the space at the right. The folds are thick and doughy, anticipating the drapery style of the Danube school of painters and sculptors of some ten to twenty years later. One is reminded especially of the massive sculptures of Hans Leinberger.[1]

In the river at the left are two fighting tritons, and at the right is a nereid, fancifully added to the scene by MZ with no apparent iconographic justification and totally out of scale to the major figure. To the left of Christopher's leg we make out the vague outlines of a fish.

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[1] *See Georg Lill,* Hans Leinberger, *Munich, 1942.*

144

MEMENTO MORI

Ca. 1500-1502
Lehrs VIII.373.20
180 x 128 mm.

Provenance: C. D. Ginsburg, England, Lugt 1145;
Hollstein und Puppel, Berlin, Auction 42 (Sammlung
eines westdeutschen Schlosses), Dec. 6, 1929, no. 931;
purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2741

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," pp. 220, 247;
Voss, *Der Ursprung des Donaustiles*, p. 108; I. Beth,
Die Baumzeichnung, p. 42

An obvious allegory on the impermanence of all earthly things, this engraving reminds us that death awaits everyone. A nude woman holding a sundial stands on a skull. We are warned that time is passing and that even the ripe young body presented here will eventually go the way of all flesh.

The influence of Dürer's engravings is seen both in the figure and the landscape. MZ must have known Dürer's *Four Witches* (Meder 69, dated 1497) as well as his *Allegory of Sloth*, or the *Doctor's Dream* (Meder 70), from which MZ borrowed Dürer's conception of the female nude as somewhat corpulent but small-breasted. Voss and Beth maintain that the figure and her fluttering cloth are derived from Dürer's *Nemesis* (Meder 72). The description of landscape is similar to that in several of Dürer's early engravings, particularly the *Knight with a Lady on Horseback* (Meder 84). The little castle with its crenellated battlements is very close to the castle in Dürer's *Penance of St. John Chrysostom* (Meder 54).

145

KNIGHT AND LADY ON HORSEBACK

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VIII.363.14
126 x 110 mm.
Watermark: Bull's head with serpent on cross,
close to Lehrs 20, 21

Provenance: Earl of Northwick, Northwick Park,
Lugt 2709a; purchased from Arthur H. Harlow and Co.,
1939
B-2736

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 227

Dürer's engraving, *The Little Courier* (Meder 79), seems to have inspired this MZ composition and to have provided a model for the galloping horse and male rider. The charming landscape is treated very delicately and predicts the romantic landscape engravings of Altdorfer.

146

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VIII.351.4
100 x 83 mm.
Watermark: Fragment of bull's head with serpent on cross

Provenance: Albertina duplicate; purchased from
Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-2733

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 218

The legend of St. George is discussed under cat. no. 43. The composition of this *St. George*, like that of cat. no. 145, is based on Dürer's *Little Courier*. The scene is treated in the spirit of genre; we feel that we are observing some sporting event. George smiles as he raises his sword over his head, about to strike the deadly blow. The dragon is not a fearsome beast at all, but resembles a shaven poodle. No explanation has been given for the oak leaves which adorn George's hat and the horse's head.

147

THE DEAD KING AND HIS THREE SONS

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VIII.374.21
172 x 245 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2742

References: W. Y. Ottley, *An Inquiry into the Origin and
Early History of Engraving*, II, London, 1816, p. 699;
Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 220; W. Stechow,
"Shooting at Father's Corpse," *Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1942,
p. 219, fig. 17

Bartsch (VI.373.4) erroneously identified this engraving as a *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*. W. Y. Ottley, in 1819, was the first to correct Bartsch's error and to point out that the real subject is the story of a king who stipulated in his will that his corpse should be shot at with arrows by his three sons. Whichever son's arrow struck nearest to the dead king's heart was to be declared successor to the crown. The two eldest sons did not hesitate to shoot at their father's corpse, but the youngest declared that he would forego his title to the kingdom rather than be guilty of so terrible a breach of filial devotion. The governors judged that the youngest son had truly fulfilled the intent of his father's will, and he was made king. In MZ's engraving, one of the two elder sons gestures proudly toward the arrows in the corpse to claim credit for the accuracy of his shooting. The young son kneels at the right. He has already been declared king by the figure on horseback (Solomon?),[1] and a crown is about to be placed on his head by an attendant figure.

This moralizing story became popular in southern Germany toward the end of the fifteenth century and was also engraved by Mair von Landshut. It is based on a tale in the thirteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans), a Latin collection of moralized anecdotes and tales intended as a manual for preachers. The first German edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* was published in 1489.

The figure of the bearded eldest son with a plumed hat is similar to Dürer's figure in *The Promenade* (B.94, Meder 83). The kneeling son is a reversed variation on the St. John in Dürer's Apocalypse woodcut of the *Vision of the Seven Candlesticks* (Kurth 107).

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[1] *This subject was sometimes confused with the* Judgment of Solomon, *and Solomon is portrayed as the wise judge who handed down the sound decision to crown the youngest son.*

148

THE WOMAN WITH THE OWL

Dated 1500
Lehrs VIII.371.19, plate 248, no. 594
160 x 123 mm.
Watermark: Coat of arms of Cleves, Lehrs 42

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971; purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-2740

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 218

According to the *First Epistle of St. John* (1:5), "God is light and in Him is no darkness at all." With the coming of Christ, the spiritual darkness of the world was said to be a thing of the past and a new kingdom of light and enlightenment was established. In this engraving by Master MZ, the light of truth breaks through the clouds at the upper right, illuminating the world and pronouncing the end of darkness and sin. The banderole contains a warning to those who walk in darkness, "Duck Dich" (hide thyself). The woman, a symbol of sin and vice, raises her skirt in order to protect the owl, the unclean bird who sleeps during the daylight hours and who is unwilling or unable to recognize the advent and splendor of the New Law.[1] For another example of the owl as a symbol of evil see cat. no. 109.

Another interpretation of this engraving is offered by Max Geisberg.[2] He sees it as a humorous depiction of an old German folk song.

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[1] *For this interpretation and for information on the symbolism of the owl I am indebted to Heinrich Schwarz.*

[2] *Geisberg,* Geschichte, *p. 208.*

149

THE EMBRACE

Dated 1503
Lehrs VIII.365.16, pl. 248, no. 593
158 x 117 mm.

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig (von Passavant-Gontard sale), May 15, 1929, no. 1053; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2737

References: Voss, *Der Ursprung des Donaustiles,* p. 110; Lehrs, "The Master MZ," pp. 227-28

Usually considered MZ's most mature and successful print, this engraving shows a couple embracing in a typical panelled late-Gothic room, which reminded Lehrs of the intimate interior setting of Dürer's *St. Jerome* engraving of 1514 (B.60, Meder 59). Light flows into the room from an arched window at the right and from one in the rear wall, creating a rich play of light and shadow. The date 1503 is written just above the rear window. A convex mirror on the left wall faintly reflects the embracing pair.

Suspended from the ceiling is a so-called "Lüsterweibchen," a curious type of chandelier in the shape of a woman holding antlers and accompanied by a family escutcheon. Chandeliers of this type are often found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rooms in southern Germany and Austria.[1] The homey atmosphere of this scene is disturbed only by the troubled glance of the woman, who looks out at us, distressed that we have intruded upon her privacy.

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[1] *For several examples see T. Müller,* Die Bildwerke in Holz, Ton, und Stein, 1450-1540, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, *Munich, 1959, pp. 107, 122.*

150

MADONNA AND CHILD AT A FOUNTAIN

Dated 1501
Lehrs VIII.348.2, pl. 245, no. 587
166 x 135 mm.; trimmed about 20 mm. at left and 12 mm. at top
Watermark: Bull's head with serpent on cross, Lehrs 21

Provenance: Wilhelm Koller, Vienna, Lugt 2632;
A. Freiherr von Lanna, Prague, Lugt 2773;
purchased from Richard Zinser, 1945
B-4992

References: H. W. Singer, *Die Kupferstichsammlung Lanna zu Prag*, Prague, 1895, p. 22, no. 120;
Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 215

The general composition of this engraving goes back to Dürer's *Virgin with the Monkey* (B.42, Meder 30) which dates from only two or three years earlier.[1] Instead of a book, Mary holds a little pitcher with which she catches water from the spout. Nevertheless, she faces left as does Dürer's *Madonna*. The poses, the general lines of drapery, and the large knot in the Virgin's waistband are similar in both prints.

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[1] *The connection of these two prints was first noticed by E. Römer in* Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, *XL, 1917, p. 229, footnote 46.*

151

FOUR SOLDIERS

Ca. 1500
Lehrs VIII.263.13
123 x 156 mm.
Watermark: Coat of arms of Cleves, Lehrs 42

Provenance: Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-2735

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 227

The lively music-making *Landsknechte* in this crowded scene are reminiscent of the figures in Dürer's early engraving of *Six Soldiers* (B.88, Meder 81) and in his drawing, dated 1489, of three soldiers in animated conversation.[1] Groups of itinerant mercenary soldiers were common in Germany and Switzerland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The flamboyant slashed sleeves and the broad-toed shoes point to a date about 1500. The shoes, known as *Kuhmäuler* (cow's muzzles) did not become popular in Germany until the very end of the century.[2]

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[1] *Reproduced in F. Winkler,* Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers, *I, Berlin, 1936, no. 18.*

[2] *Compare the costume in cat. no. 138.*

152

THE BALL

Dated 1500
Lehrs VIII.367.17
220 x 310 mm.
Watermark: Coat of arms of Cleves with lion, Lehrs 43; close to Briquet 1945

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2738

References: Friedrich H. Hofmann, "Der Gotische Tanzsaal in der Neuveste," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I (Oberdeutsche Kunst der Spätgotik und Reformationszeit), Augsburg, 1924, pp. 120-28;
Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 229

This engraving probably represents a specific festive occasion in the Munich palace of Albrecht IV of Bavaria. In the foreground of a large hall, three couples promenade to the music of a fife and drum which are being played in the balcony at the left. Below the balcony, a guard drives a curious crowd away from the door by swinging at them with a staff. In a recess of the rear wall a noble couple plays cards on a table almost identical to that in *The Embrace* (cat. no. 149). The card players have been identified as the Duke of Bavaria, Albrecht IV, and his wife, Kunigunde of Austria. Their faces correspond perfectly to the painted portraits of Albrecht and Kunigunde by Barthel Beham formerly in the gallery at Schleissheim. Friedrich Hofmann has identified the three Munich streets seen through the windows as the Burgstrasse, the Dienerstrasse, and the Weinstrasse. Hofmann has concluded that the ball takes place in the Neuveste, a fortified structure built in 1385 in the northeast corner of the palace, near the present-day Apotheken-Pavillon. The Neuveste no longer exists but has been rebuilt several times and modified into the present-day Residenz. Lehrs feels that Hofmann's identification of the three streets is hypothetical, but he agrees that it is likely that Albrecht would entertain in the Neuveste and that the ballroom seen in the engraving represents a real room in the Munich ducal palace.

153

THE TOURNAMENT

Dated 1500
Lehrs VIII.369.18, pl. 250, no. 596
220 x 310 mm.
Watermark: Coat of arms of Cleves with a lion, Lehrs 43; close to Briquet 1945

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2739

References: Lehrs, "The Master MZ," pp. 229-31, 239

This scene was probably intended as a companion to *The Ball* (cat. no. 152), which it resembles in size and format. It may have been engraved to commemorate the same festival held in Munich in 1500. The duke and duchess—Albrecht and Kunigunde—appear in the middle of the background, watching the tournament from a balcony. The Bavarian arms and the date 1500 appear over the window of an apothecary's shop at the right. The tourney occurring here may be the same one we see through the window at the extreme right of *The Ball.*

MZ's awkward drawing and his lack of mastery of perspective are obvious. The little figures observing the tournament from the windows in the background, for example, are incredibly oversimplified. In the foreground there is no consistency of scale from one figure to the next. The bagpiper at the lower left is much too small, considering his position in the immediate foreground. Moreover, the junction of foreground and background is abrupt and illogical.

K. T. Parker has published a chalk drawing by Master MZ in the Ehlers Collection, Göttingen,[1] which is a preliminary study for the two horsemen at the lower right, the one who reins his horse to an abrupt halt, and the other, just in back, whose horse is seen from the rear. The drawing is executed with a sureness of touch and a keen sense for gesture and movement. It is hard to reconcile the spontaneous quality of MZ's drawing with the stiff and dry formality, to say nothing of the awkward draftsmanship of MZ's engravings.

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[1] *K. T. Parker, "Monogrammist MZ,"* Old Master Drawings, *II, 1927, p. 43, pl. 48; also reproduced in Lehrs, "The Master MZ," p. 232.*

ISRAHEL VAN MECKENEM

Ca. 1445-1503

Israhel van Meckenem was the most prolific fifteenth-century engraver as well as the most notorious copyist of his time. Over 620 prints are now attributed to him,[1] many of them signed IM, IVM, or Israhel v M. Less than one-fourth of his *oeuvre,* however, consists of compositions of his own invention. Meckenem copied Master E.S. (cat. nos. 162-72), Schongauer (cat. nos. 199-205), the Master of the Housebook (cat. nos. 206, 208), Holbein the Elder (cat. nos. 216-227), and the young Dürer. He also acquired and retouched the exhausted copper plates of other engravers, especially Master E.S. (cat. no. 10), Master FVB (cat. no. 128) and Master W with the key. Most historians of engraving have condemned Meckenem as an undisciplined plagiarizer and copyist. Often, the attack on Meckenem's integrity has been carried too far, and even the relatively few prints which he did indeed invent were considered by scholars to be copies of lost works by other artists. Geisberg,[2] for example, asserted that the 12 genre prints from Meckenem's late period, the so-called *Alltagsleben* series (cat. nos. 233-43) were copied from the Master PW of Cologne. Anni Warburg[3] accepted and propagated Geisberg's theory, which Geisberg himself later disavowed.[4] The *Alltagsleben* prints are now universally recognized as original Meckenems. It is now also recognized that Meckenem possessed a high degree of inventiveness and that he was especially sensitive to the secular world of his time. He took great pleasure in recording contemporary costumes and interiors and in depicting people from all walks of life engaged in conversation or participating in common leisure activities. In some cases he actually transformed religious subjects into worldly ones. In the *Dance at the Court of Herod* (cat. no. 232), for example, the decapitation of St. John occurs far in the left background, while Salome presents the severed head to Herod in the distant right background. The foreground, however, is filled with patrician dancers and music-makers. The gory biblical subject has become an excuse to portray a fancy ball. Because of Meckenem's interest in the life around him, his prints are invaluable documents for the cultural history of the Lower Rhine region in the fifteenth century.[5]

Several pieces of goldsmith's work by Meckenem are known and preserved.[6] The object which is most persuasively attributed to Meckenem is the little pyxis, or reliquary case, now in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich.[7] It is dated 1470 and inscribed with text in Meckenem's characteristic script. The figures of the Madonna and Child, saints, and a donor closely resemble the figures in youthful Meckenem engravings.

One of Meckenem's earliest prints, an ornament with the battle of a wild man and woman (L.605), is inscribed with the statement that the print was made in Cleves in 1465. Since it is thus known that Meckenem was a practicing goldsmith and engraver by 1465, his birth date is usually set between 1440 and 1450. The young Meckenem probably began his career in the workshop of his father, the Master of the Berlin Passion (see discussion preceding cat. no. 20). Meckenem's earliest prints are in his father's manner, with stiff rectilinear contours contrasted with delicate interior modeling. The young Meckenem must also have known the small engravings of the Lower Rhenish Erasmus-Dutuit group (cat. nos. 23-28), as well as engravings by Master E.S. which had found their way down the Rhine to Bocholt and the Netherlands. The early Meckenem prints in our collection (cat. nos. 154-56, 159-61) represent an amalgam of the various styles which the young Meckenem had assimilated.

Shortly after 1465, Meckenem must have traveled to South Germany, probably to seek out Master E.S. and to work in his atelier. Over 200 of Meckenem's prints are literal copies of E.S. engravings; Meckenem also reworked and printed 41 of E.S.'s plates. The theory that Meckenem was working with E.S. in Switzerland or Alsace at the time of E.S.'s death in 1467 or 1468 is credible, and would account for Meckenem's acquisition of the 41 E.S. plates which he reworked.

In 1470, Meckenem was still in South Germany in the neighborhood of Bamberg where he made the Agnus Dei pyxis (mentioned above) for Konrad Leen, the vicar of the Marienkirche in Theuerstadt.[8] Meckenem then made his way north and, according to Warburg,[9] was in the city of Neuss in 1475. He was certainly back in his home town, Bocholt, during the 1470's. Bocholt is near the Netherlands border, about 16 miles from the Rhine, opposite Cleves. One of his ornament prints of the seventies (L.607) is inscribed, "Made in Bocholt in the bishopric of Münster." Meckenem seems to have resided at Bocholt for the remainder of his life. Numerous documents in the archives of Bocholt dated between 1480 and 1498 indicate that Meckenem was a prosperous citizen and the frequent recipient of commissions from the city fathers to produce silver and gold objects for civic functions and ceremonies.[10]

The influence of Westphalian painting of the 1470's, especially the work of Johann Koerbecke and the Master of Schöppingen, is felt in

Meckenem's prints of the mid-1470's. Meckenem's preference in this period for distorted poses, twisted limbs, and grotesque physiognomies (see cat. nos. 173-74) can probably be traced to the style of these expressionistic painters.

It is likely that Meckenem visited Flanders in the late 1470's or early 1480's, where he was exposed to Flemish painting. In the engravings of about 1480 (cat. nos. 183-94), there is a new dignity of mood and a new concern for compositional stability. The scenes make use of the geometric forms of architecture to provide a more constructed compositional framework. The organization of deep spaces with columns and arches framing views into adjoining rooms may derive from paintings such as Dirk Bouts's *Judgment of Emperor Otto* in Brussels or the *Last Supper* in Louvain. A particularly telling comparison can be made between Meckenem's *Christ at Emmaus* (cat. no. 194) and one of the paintings from the wing of the Bouts Louvain Altarpiece, the *Passover Meal*.[11]

In the early 1480's, Meckenem begins to develop a personal burin style. He frequently employs several parallel systems of superimposed cross-hatching in the background. These piles of multiple strokes usually create a coloristic or painterly effect. Sometimes (as in cat. nos. 212, 229, 233), the dense lines of the background serve as a dark foil against which the more delicately modeled figures stand out. In the 1480's and 1490's, Meckenem's burin work becomes increasingly sensitive and sophisticated and his compositions more harmonious. The brutal type of his early style is replaced by a pleasant, good-natured type—thin, high-waisted and with a rather small head—which recurs time and again in the later works. The prints after 1480, finally, are conceived in the spirit of panel paintings. The format is large and the images are carefully and elaborately finished.

Meckenem died in 1503 and was buried in the Georgskirche in Bocholt. Although his gravestone no longer exists, a drawing of ca. 1600 in the British Museum conveys its appearance.[12]

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[1] *Geisberg was the first modern scholar to assemble Meckenem's prints* (Verzeichnis der Kupferstiche Israhels van Meckenem, *Strassburg, 1905), raising the total from the 267 described by Passavant to 558. More were gradually added until Lehrs listed 624 in volume 9 of his* Kritischer Katalog *in 1934. We are adding one previously unknown work of Meckenem's early period (cat. no. 156).*

[2] *M. Geisberg,* Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem, *Strassburg, 1903, pp. 128-31.*

[3] *Anni Warburg,* Israhel van Meckenem, *Bonn, 1930, p. 67.*

[4] *M. Geisberg, "Israhel van Meckenem,"* Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVII, 1930, pp. 236-37.*

[5] *For a survey of Meckenem's depictions of everyday life see Heinrich Kohlhaussen, "Israhel van Meckenem als Schilderer niederrheinisch-westfälischen Lebens,"* Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, *1953, pp. 30-36.*

[6] *See Geisberg,* Der Meister E.S., *p. 74, pl. 73; Hermann Schnitzler, "Ein Silberanhänger des Israel van Meckenem,"* Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch, *X, 1938, pp. 237-40; Paul Pieper, "Israhel van Meckenem als Goldschmied,"* Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, *1953, pp. 11-20.*

[7] *Reproduced in Geisburg,* Der Meister E.S., *pl. 73; in Pieper "Meckenem als Goldschmied," p. 19, fig. 11; in Schnitzler, "Ein Silberanhänger," p. 238, fig. 152.*

[8] *For other evidence of Meckenem's trip to South Germany see cat. no. 244.*

[9] *Warburg,* Meckenem, *pp. 24-25; see also discussion under cat. no. 175.*

[10] *The documents are listed in Geisberg,* Meister der Berliner Passion, *pp. 52-54; in Warburg,* Meckenem, *p. 32; in Geisberg,* Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVII, 1930,* passim.

[11] *Reproduced in Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *III, pl. XXV, fig. 18.*

[12] *Reproduced in* Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVII, 1930, p. 235.*

154

CHRIST APPEARING TO THE DISCIPLES

Ca. 1465
Lehrs IX.130.113, second state
73 x 48 mm.

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971;
purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1929
B-2666

References: T. O. Weigel and A. Zestermann,
Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst, II, Leipzig, 1866, p. 361;
Willshire, *Early Prints*, II, p. 357; Geisberg,
Verzeichnis, no. 117

According to the Gospel of St. John (20:19), Christ appeared to His disciples after the Resurrection. He displayed the wounds in His hands and side and twice uttered the words, "Peace be with you." In our engraving, the disciples express their amazement at seeing the risen Christ. Christ holds up His hands to bless them and to show His wounds. Below is the inscription, *pax vobis*.

This engraving is part of a series of 55 prints of the Passion done by the youthful Meckenem. The entire series is copied directly from a Passion set by the Master of the Martyrdom of the Ten-Thousand, a minor Lower Rhenish engraver of the mid-century, closely allied to the Master of the Dutuit Mt. of Olives (see Lehrs III.358.8-53).

155

ST. PETER

Ca. 1465
Lehrs IX.219.231, unique
61 x 41 mm.

Provenance: P. & D. Colnaghi and Co; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2726

One of Meckenem's earliest engravings, this *St. Peter* betrays the influence of the Master of the Berlin Passion (Meckenem's father and first teacher) and of the Master E.S. The Berlin Passion Master is recalled in the angular drawing of the drapery, the patterning of the floor, and the patches of delicate modeling. The source of the composition, however, may have been a lost E.S. engraving from the small Apostle series of which only *St. John* and *St. Matthew* (Lehrs II.161.92-93) have survived.

The surface is covered with slipped strokes, evidence that this is a beginner's work. The clumsy inscription on the banderole appears to have been added to the plate by a later hand. In reverse it reads, "S. Pe trus."

156

ST. AGATHA

Ca. 1465
Undescribed, unique
82 x 61 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1940
B-2727

St. Agatha was an early Christian martyr of Sicily. Because she refused to renounce her faith even after being tortured on the rack, Agatha's breasts were torn from her body. She is often depicted holding the tongs with a severed breast, symbolic of her martyrdom.

The face of our St. Agatha is slightly reminiscent of the Master E.S. facial type. The rectilinear contours of the drapery, the masses of delicate modeling strokes, and the stylized hair, however, recall the work of the Master of the Berlin Passion (cf. cat. nos. 20-22). In the Albertina collection in Vienna is an unpublished engraving of St. Agatha attributed to the Berlin Passion Master (Inv. No. 1931-17). It is almost identical to the present engraving, but faces the reverse direction. The Vienna print was probably the model for this early work by Meckenem.

157

CHRIST AS THE MAN OF SORROWS

Ca. 1470-80
Lehrs IX.347.445A
Diameter: 42 mm.
Blue ink stain on Christ's hair

Provenance: Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, Palmer's Green, England, Lugt 1145; H. Howard, London, Lugt 1318; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2706

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 352

Christ is shown standing in the tomb, neither alive nor dead, anticipating the Resurrection. Behind the tomb is the cross with a Greek inscription, and in the background the Greek monogram of Christ, IC XC. I and C are the first and last letters of Ihcuc (Jesus), while X and C are the first and last letters of Xpictoc (Christ). The iconography relates to no episode described in the Gospels, but is an invented devotional image which appears frequently in late medieval art. The imagery probably grew out of the legend that Christ appeared in this way to St. Gregory as he celebrated Mass in Santa Croce in Rome (cf. cat. nos. 214, 215).

This image was cut out of a sheet of six roundel patterns printed on one plate (Lehrs IX.347.445A-F). The images were intended as models for goldsmith's decorations on ecclesiastical objects. The realistic treatment of the face and the successful modeling of the torso and arms, as well as the dense multiple hatching of the background suggest a date in the second decade of Meckenem's activity.

158
CHRIST AS THE MAN OF SORROWS

Ca. 1470-80
Lehrs IX.349.445b
Diameter: 37 mm.
Traces of red coloring on the tomb; trimmed inside margin

Provenance: Purchased from Martin Aufhäuser, 1937
B-3307

References: T. O. Weigel and A. Zestermann,
Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst, II,
Leipzig, 1866, p. 386, no. 456

This is a reversed copy by a minor hand of the foregoing print. The copyist has coarsened the facial features of Christ and has omitted the last five characters of the Greek inscription.

159
ST. DOMINIC

Ca. 1470
Lehrs IX.275.332, second state
124 x 71 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2690

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 273

St. Dominic was the founder of the Dominican Order (the Order of Preachers) in the year 1216. He is often portrayed with a star on his forehead and with his attribute, the dog bearing a flaming torch in its mouth. The star is said to have appeared on his forehead when Dominic was baptized as an indication that he was destined to spread light over the entire earth. The dog alludes to a dream which Dominic's mother reported. The dog in the dream was taken to symbolize the role of the Dominicans as guardians (watchdogs) and disseminators of the Gospels. The dog also appears in conjunction with Dominicans as a play on the Latin words, *Domini canis*, the dog of the Lord. Usually, the dog is a dalmatian, because of the similarity of its coloring to the Dominicans' black and white habits.

This engraving, the *St. Cornelius* (cat. no. 160), and the *Magdalene* (cat. no. 161), were part of a series of engravings of saints which Geisberg refers to as the small saint series.[1] They were probably done about 1470. The inscription reads, "S. Dominicus."

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[1] *Geisberg*, Verzeichnis, *pp. 13-14.*

160
ST. CORNELIUS

Ca. 1470
Lehrs IX.274.330, second state
122 x 73 mm.

Provenance: National Library, Vienna, Lugt 1260;
Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5g; purchased from
Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2689

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 271

St. Cornelius was Pope for only two years, from 251 to 253 A.D. He is particularly venerated in Brittany, in Belgium, and at the church of St. Severin in Cologne. He is invoked against epilepsy and nervous disorders in general. Cornelius usually wears the papal tiara and carries a horn (*une corne*), due to a French play of words on his name. For this reason he is the patron saint of horned beasts. In Brittany especially, it is common for peasants to parade their cattle past images of St. Cornelius.

161
ST. MARY MAGDALENE

Ca. 1470
Lehrs IX.325.410
122 x 72 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2703

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 344

St. Mary Magdalene is identified by the ointment jar she holds, a reference to her having anointed the feet of Christ (Luke 7:37-38).

The scratchy modeling of the drapery, the silhouetting of the figure against a blank background, the tiled floor, and the elegant gothic lettering of the saint's name relate this print to the two preceding catalogue entries. All three are part of an extensive series of saints produced by Meckenem in his early years. The figure of the Magdalene with her splendid dress and curious turban-like headgear with the long veil falling in front of her face apparently derives from a Master E.S. engraving of St. Catherine (Lehrs II.235.165), unique in the Berlin print room. Meckenem is only partially successful in creating three-dimensional drapery forms, and his drawing of face and hands still reveals the work of an immature draftsman.

162-171

TEN ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, CA. 1470-80

Lehrs IX.234.269-71, 273-79
Each about 152 x 83 mm.

Provenance: Trivulzio Collection, Milan;
P. & D. Colnaghi Co.; purchased from Kennedy and Co., 1929

References: Catalogo dei Codici Manoscritti della Trivulziana, Turin, 1884, p. 182; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* pp. 9-10; M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhundert in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* XI, 1888, p. 62 and XIV, 1891, p. 404

Only eleven of the twelve engravings in this series have survived in even one impression. Ten of them are preserved in our collection and the eleventh, *St. John* (L.272), is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Our group was found bound in the Codex Trivulziana, a unique medieval prayer book from the Trivulzio Library in Milan. The book was sold to Colnaghi and Co. in 1929. The ten engravings were removed and found their way to the New York art market, where they were purchased by Lessing Rosenwald.

The engravings are literal copies in reverse of the Apostle series by Master E.S. (Lehrs II.184.124-36). The E.S. prototypes are typical engravings of that master's middle period, ca. 1450-60. The abundant drapery swings around and encases the figures, as it does in our E.S. *St. Peter* (cat. no. 5). Meckenem has added the names of the Apostles in the same florid lettering found on cat. nos. 159-161. In several cases he has confused the figures and has incorrectly linked names and attributes (cat. nos. 166, 168, 170, 171). Because so little care was taken in identifying the various apostles, we can assume that the series was intended as a source of ideas and motifs for other craftsmen. The story of each Apostle was less important than the presentation of twelve garbed figures in a variety of poses.

162

ST. ANDREW

Lehrs IX.235.270, unique
152 x 83 mm. (border); 294 x 193 mm. (sheet)
B-2676

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* no. 190

After the Resurrection of Christ, St. Andrew went on an evangelical mission to Greece. Because of his success in converting the people to Christianity, Andrew was put to death by the Roman governor of Patrae. It is said that he died slowly, bound to an X-shaped cross. Thus, the attribute of Andrew is the X-cross, instrument of his martyrdom.

163

ST. PHILIP

Lehrs IX.236.274
151 x 83 mm. (border); 289 x 198 mm. (sheet)
B-2679

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* no. 242

St. Philip is always shown with his attribute, a cross at the end of a long staff (compare cat. no. 69). This is a reference to his death by crucifixion.

164

ST. BARTHOLOMEW

Lehrs IX.237.275, unique
151 x 81 mm. (border); 293 x 195 mm. (sheet)
B-2680

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* no. 195

St. Bartholomew, while preaching in Armenia, was seized by heathens and flayed alive. He is identified by the knife, symbol of his martyrdom.

165

ST. SIMON

Lehrs IX.238.278
151 x 81 mm. (border); 291 x 193 mm. (sheet)
B-2682

Meckenem incorrectly labeled this figure as St. Jude. By the fifteenth century, the saw had become the standard attribute of St. Simon, since it was said that he was martyred by being sawn asunder. See cat. no. 70.

166

UNKNOWN APOSTLE

Lehrs IX.237.277
152 x 83 mm. (border); 291 x 190 mm. (sheet)
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke,
close to Lehrs 21, 23
B-2683

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 247

Meckenem erroneously labeled this figure "S. iud. thadeus." Lehrs, however, has tentatively suggested that he is supposed to be St. Simon. The cross, however, is the attribute of Simon of Cyrene, the one who helped Christ bear the cross on the way to Calvary (Mark 15:21). It certainly has nothing to do with either Judas Thaddaeus or Simon the Apostle.[1] The confusion may have been started by Master E.S. who inscribed the name "Simion" on the figure bearing a cross in his series of small Apostles (Lehrs II.171.105). Lehrs contends that the present figure should be called Simon, and believes that cat. no. 165 in fact represents St. Judas Thaddaeus.

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[1] *Joseph Braun*, Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst, *Stuttgart, 1943, pp. 389, 664.*

167

ST. JAMES THE LESS

Lehrs IX.236.273
150 x 83 mm. (border); 293 x 196 mm. (sheet)
B-2678

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 207

The club or fuller's bat is the usual attribute of St. James the Less. It is said that he was beaten to death by an enraged mob. The inscription reads "S. Jaco bus. minor."

168

ST. MATTHIAS (?)

Lehrs IX.238.279
151 x 83 mm. (border); 293 x 192 mm. (sheet)
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke,
close to Lehrs 21, 23
B-2684

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 227

After the events of the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ, Matthias was elected to the college of Apostles to fill the vacancy caused by the suicide of the traitor Judas. Fifteenth-century artists usually preferred to show Matthias, and Judas Iscariot is rarely represented in series of the Apostles. The attribute of Matthias varies. He generally carries an axe or halberd, but sometimes a spear or lance, and occasionally a stone. Since the axe and halberd are also frequent attributes of St. Matthew, he and Matthias are often difficult to differentiate.

169

ST. JAMES THE GREAT

Lehrs IX.235.271
152 x 83 mm. (border); 291 x 191 mm. (sheet)
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke,
close to Lehrs 21, 23
B-2677

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 201

The pilgrim's hat with the scallop shell identifies St. James. Here, James also holds a curious twisted palm stalk with a second shell attached. For the St. James iconography see cat. nos. 21, 42.

170

ST. THOMAS (?)

Lehrs IX.237.276
151 x 80 mm. (border); 291 x 185 mm. (sheet)
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke,
close to Lehrs 21, 23
B-2681

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 225

According to Meckenem's inscription, this figure is St. Simon. The lance, however, is never the attribute of Simon, though it does sometimes appear as the symbol of St. Thomas (see cat. no. 72). Lehrs identified this figure as St. Matthew, but without any justification.

171

ST. PAUL (?)

Lehrs IX.235.269
152 x 84 mm. (border); 293 x 191 mm. (sheet)
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke,
close to Lehrs 21, 23
B-2675

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 232

Meckenem labeled this figure "Matheus" (Matthew). The sword is almost always the symbol of St. Paul, however, since he is said to have been beheaded.

172

ST. MICHAEL

Ca. 1470-80
Lehrs IX.304.378, first state
137 x 87 mm.

Provenance: Kloster Mattsee; Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Auction 8, 1927, no. 224; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2697

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 310; M. Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVI, 1893, p. 326; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 3; Master E.S. exhibition, no. 37

The iconography of St. Michael is discussed under cat. no. 84. The present version shows Michael clad in armor rather than a tunic. In a common variation on the St. Michael theme, the archangel does battle with demons rather than with Satan in the form of a great serpent.

A direct copy of the *St. Michael* by Master E.S. (L.153), this engraving was found in 1912 pasted into the cover of a book in the library of the Mattsee cloister in Upper Austria. It is printed on a large sheet of paper with four lines of Latin text added by pen at the top of the sheet in a contemporary hand.

173

SAMSON SLAYING THE LION

Ca. 1475
Lehrs IX.5.5, first state
136 x 104 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1938
B-2655

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 7; Harry David, "Dürers Simsonholzschnitt und Israhel van Meckenem," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, 1912, pp. 129-31; Peter A. Wick, "Samson Slaying the Lion by Israhel van Meckenem," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, LI, 1953, pp. 85-89

The story of Samson and the lion is found in Judges 14:5-6. Meckenem's vigorous, if somewhat brutal style seems perfectly suited to the drama of this subject, the barehanded destruction of the lion by Samson, into whose body the spirit of the Lord had been infused.

Meckenem's goldsmith's sensibility finds expression in Samson's ornamentalized hair and in the mane of the lion. The lion's tail curves around like a vine in an ornament print and ends in a decorative flourish. The lion is not observed from nature but calls to mind the metal acquamanile of the middle ages, or the stylized lions by Master E.S. (cf. Lehrs II.48.4). The treatment of the background with buildings perilously perched on a rocky outcropping suggests a derivation from Master E.S., as does the loose cross-hatching at steep angles.[1]

Geisberg and Warburg[2] have associated this engraving with fifteen other prints by Meckenem which they call the group of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen (named for cat. no. 174). These prints, done about 1475, share numerous characteristics discussed under no. 174 below. They represent the earliest significant engravings by Meckenem which are not copies of engravings by other masters.

Harry David has shown that Dürer's early woodcut of *Samson and the Lion* (Kurth 103) was inspired by this Meckenem engraving.

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[1] *Compare the modeling of drapery in cat. no. 13.*

[2] *Warburg,* Meckenem, *p. 55.*

174

THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN

Ca. 1475
Lehrs IX.308.383, second state
152 x 205 mm.

Provenance: Stiglmeier Collection; Chilpin Collection; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 27; purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1938
B-2699

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 317; Geisberg, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 107; Warburg, *Meckenem*, p. 56

St. Stephen's martyrdom by stoning is discussed under cat. no. 30 which is a reversed copy by the Master of the Banderoles after the present print.

This engraving is typical of Meckenem's work in the mid-1470's, after his return to Bocholt following a prolonged sojourn in South Germany. As in the preceding example, the landscape is barren and characterized by jagged, stratified terrain. In the background, a castle is precariously situated on a ledge of rock, much like the buildings in cat. no. 173. The figures have outspokenly gruesome physiognomies as well as contorted limbs which appear to be wrenched out of normal positions. There is almost no composition in depth. Geisberg attributed the ugliness of this print to the fact that it is one of Meckenem's earliest independent compositions, done without the benefit of a model. Actually the quality of "anti-harmony" was probably intentional and reflects the influence of contemporary Westphalian painting on the impressionable Meckenem. In the expressionistic paintings of Johann Koerbecke and the Master of Schöppingen we find a similar virile, if unattractive, style. The figures are grotesque and emphasis is placed on heightened drama through bodily distortions, unbalanced postures, and drastic gestures. Meckenem, in this phase of his career, allies himself with a particularly expressionistic current in late-Gothic German art (see discussion under cat. no. 1).

175

ST. QUIRINUS OF NEUSS

Ca. 1470-80
Lehrs IX.261.311, second state
156 x 85 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1930
B-2688

References: M. Geisberg, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 85; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 312; Geisberg, *Die Anfänge*, p. 124, pl. 68; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pp. 24-27; Henry Meier, "Some Israhel van Meckenem Problems," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXVII, 1940, pp. 41-67

St. Quirinus is the patron saint of the Westphalian city of Neuss, four miles from Düsseldorf. Quirinus is usually shown in armor with a shield decorated by nine circles. He is venerated in the archdiocese of Cologne, along with the other three so-called marshals of the Church: St. Anthony, St. Cornelius (cat. no. 160), and St. Hubert. These four saints—like the fourteen auxiliary saints—were traditionally invoked in the Lower Rhine region to serve as heavenly intercessors in time of illness or catastrophe.[1]

From July, 1474 to June, 1475, Neuss was besieged by troops under Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Charles hoped to take Neuss in his drive to extend the Burgundian realm all the way to the Rhine. Emperor Frederick III, however, sent troops to the aid of Neuss, and the siege was finally thwarted. The people of Neuss attributed their victory over Charles the Bold to their patron saint, Quirinus, and new impetus was given to his veneration. Small images or tokens of Quirinus were cast in lead[2] and, according to Warburg, numerous Quirinus prints were produced in connection with the victory celebrations.[3] For some time after the truce was declared, the two armies intermingled and the Burgundians even entered the city. Prints and souvenirs found ready customers. Since Meckenem engraved several images of Quirinus, Warburg and Wolfgang Boerner[4] have concluded that Meckenem was present at Neuss in 1475, perhaps with the contingent of troops dispatched from Bocholt to come to the relief of the besieged city. Henry Meier[5] has written at length on Quirinus and the relationship of the Meckenem prints to the siege of Neuss. He concludes on the other hand that the production of engravings of St. Quirinus did not require Meckenem's presence at the scene.

The pose of our figure recalls the figures in *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (cat. no. 174), which we have dated ca. 1475. Geisberg believed that a lost engraving by Master E.S. served as Meckenem's model for the figure of Quirinus.

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[1] *Wilhelm Felten,* Zur Geschichte der Verehrung der hl. vier Marschälle, *Cologne, 1920 (part 100 of Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein), pp. 121-49.*

[2] *Reproduced in Meier, "Some . . . Meckenem Problems," p. 56.*

[3] *Warburg cites especially the* St. Quirinus *by Master W with the Key (Hollstein, XII, p. 215), and the Quirinus images by Meckenem. Warburg claims that Meckenem met Master W at Neuss.*

[4] *W. Boerner,* Der Meister W mit dem Schlüssel, *Leipzig, 1927 (dissertation), p. 53.*

[5] *Meier, "Some . . . Meckenem Problems," pp. 41-67.*

176

THE CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1475
Lehrs IX.39.41
213 x 144 mm.
Vertical fold in middle of sheet

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2658

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 98

The uncomely physiognomy and misshapen head and hands of St. John, the barrenness of the locale with its stratified mounds of earth, as well as the piles of light cross-hatching relate this devotional image of the Crucifixion to *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (cat. no. 174). The minimal number of compositional adornments and the vigorous handling of the burin contribute to the starkness of the image, which powerfully conveys the pathos of the subject.

Only three other impressions of this engraving are known.

177

ST. LUKE DRAWING A PORTRAIT OF THE VIRGIN

Ca. 1475
Lehrs IX.299.370
208 x 141 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, Lehrs 43

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2695

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 303;
Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 7

One of the legends connected with St. Luke the Evangelist is that he made a portrait of the Virgin and Child.[1] As a result of this story, Luke became the patron saint of the painters' guilds in the middle ages, and artists frequently did self-portraits in the guise of St. Luke. Luke is usually shown either on his knees or seated at an easel. In Meckenem's engraving, which bears similarities to a *St. Luke* from the Dirk Bouts school,[2] Luke kneels and draws the Virgin with a pencil or silverpoint. An angel floats through an open window at the upper left and is about to place a crown on Mary's head.

The hideous face of St. Luke, the delicate character of the modeling, and the barren landscape view through the window ally this work with *The Stoning of St. Stephen* and thus suggest a date around 1475. Bartsch[3] and Passavant[4] suggested that Meckenem intended this grotesque St. Luke as a self-portrait. A comparison with Meckenem's inscribed self-portrait (cat. no. 244), however, reveals the erroneousness of this hypothesis.

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[1] *Dorothée Klein,* Sankt Lukas als Maler der Maria, *Berlin, 1935.*

[2] *Reproduced in Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *III, pl. LXXI.*

[3] *Bartsch VI.238.107.*

[4] *Passavant II.193.107.*

178

THE HOLY FAMILY

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs IX.210.217
247 x 170 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with cross-stroke

Provenance: A. Vivenel, Paris, Lugt 190; Gilhofer and Ranschburg, Luzern, Auction 3, 1926, pl. XVI; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2674

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 186; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 19; *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, Augsburg, 1965 (exhibition catalogue), no. 219

Seated on an elaborate late-Gothic throne, the Virgin holds the Child who reaches out for an apple offered to Him by St. Anne. Joseph watches at the left while three other male figures appear at the right. God the Father and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove appear in radiant light above the Child. The Meckenem composition was probably inspired by a lost painting or drawing of Hans Holbein the Elder, known to us only through a copy in the Basel Museum.[1]

Meckenem has conspicuously placed his large monogram on the pedestal of the throne and has indicated on the arch at the top the location in which this engraving was done, his home town of Bocholt in northwestern Germany. The Meckenem coat of arms,[2] two demi-pales conjoined, one in chief and one in base, appears at the top left. It is balanced by an empty shield at the right.

The facial types are milder than those in the group of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (cat. nos. 174, 176, 177), though they are still characterized by rather coarse features. Meckenem is now somewhat more interested in the descriptive rendering of textures and the creation of a more elaborate setting. These characteristics point to his style of about 1480, the period in which he produced the large Passion series (cat. nos. 183-94). The throne of Pilate in the Passion series (cat. no. 188) closely resembles the large throne in the present print.

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[1] *Reproduced in Augsburg Holbein catalogue, pl. 42; for other influences of Holbein the Elder upon Meckenem see cat. nos. 215, 216-27, 230.*

[2] *The same heraldic device appears in the anonymous sixteenth-century drawing of Meckenem's tombstone. The whereabouts of the tomb is unknown, but the drawing is preserved in the British Museum; reproduced in Geisberg, "Israhel van Meckenem," p. 235; in Warburg,* Meckenem, *p. 20; and in the Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, p. 9, fig. 1.*

179

ST. OTTILIA

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs IX.326.411
163 x 125 mm.
Watermark: Running dog with flower, Briquet 3629

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2704

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 346; Warburg, *Meckenem*, p. 61, pl. 7

Ottilia, or Odilia, was the daughter of a duke of Alsace in the seventh century. Because she was born blind, Ottilia's father planned to have her murdered. Her mother, however, placed Ottilia in a Benedictine monastery near Besancon where the infant girl was baptized and where she miraculously gained her sight. Ottilia later founded the convent at Hohenburg near Strassburg and was its first abbess. According to legend, Ottilia prayed so hard for her father's soul that he was released from Purgatory. In this engraving, Ottilia kneels and prays before the altar while an angel helps her father to arise from his tomb.[1] Ottilia is invoked against diseases of the eye and is the patron saint of oculists. She is also invoked for the deliverance of souls.

Geisberg dated this print about 1475 with the group of *The Stoning of St. Stephen*. We feel that it is closer to the style of the Passion series of ca. 1480 (cat. nos. 183-94) with its emphasis on complex interior spaces.

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[1] *For another version of this subject see Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 240.*

180

A GOTHIC MONSTRANCE

Ca. 1480
Lehrs IX.440.589
259 x 84 mm. (visible plate mark)
Watermark: Running dog with collar and flower, close to Briquet 3627, 3629
Trimmed inside plate-mark at bottom

Provenance: Trivulzio Collection, Milan; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2723

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 448

A monstrance is any transparent vessel or receptacle in which either relics or the consecrated host are exposed for adoration. In the late middle ages, elaborate monstrances were frequently made of gold, using the forms of Gothic architecture. Many engravers made designs such as this one to provide goldsmiths with models. The glass cylinder is the only essential section, while the complicated shapes of the pinnacle and base are merely decorative embellishments.

Meckenem copied this monstrance from an engraving by the Master W with the Key (L.53; Hollstein, XII, p. 230).

181

ST. ELIZABETH OF THURINGIA

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs IX.318.39, first state
161 x 110 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1938
B-2701

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 331

St. Elizabeth was the daughter of the king of Hungary. At the tender age of 14 she was married to the Margrave of Thuringia and went to live with him at his castle in Wartburg. Greatly impressed by her confessor's description of the life dedicated to the love of one's neighbors, Elizabeth ordered that a hospital be built at Wartburg to care for the poor, sick, and leprous. After her husband was killed in the Crusades, Elizabeth joined a tertiary order of Franciscan nuns at Marburg and dedicated all of her energies to the care of the sick. She died in 1231 at the age of 24. Many hospitals in Belgium, northern France, and Germany are consecrated to her, and she is invoked for the cure of leprosy and skin diseases in general.

In Meckenem's engraving, Elizabeth is dressed as a princess, wearing a royal crown and an embroidered dress. She holds a second crown, symbolic of her austere piety and holiness, while a third crown, symbolizing her continence in marriage, lies on the ground at the left. Often, Elizabeth is shown giving food or clothing to a leper. Here, she shares her cloak with a crippled beggar.

Similarities in drapery treatment, modeling, and facial types relate this engraving to the Passion series of ca. 1480 (cat. nos. 183-94).

182

ST. URSULA AND HER MAIDENS

Ca. 1475-80
Lehrs IX.326.412, fourth state
158 x 148 mm. (trimmed)
Watermark: Shield with lily, close to Briquet 1653

Provenance: Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C.G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 31; purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1938
B-2705

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 347

The story of St. Ursula became popular in the late middle ages due to its appearance in *The Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine.[1] According to the story, Ursula, an English princess, and her 11,000 companions—all Virgins returning from a pilgrimage to Rome—were massacred by the Huns when their boats arrived in Cologne.

Ursula is usually represented wearing an enormous mantle under which her companions, the Virgins who shared her pilgrimage and martyrdom, seek refuge. The motif is closely related to the iconography of the Madonna della Misericordia (Madonna as Protectress).[2] Ursula wears the crown of a princess and holds the arrow, instrument of her death.

The facial types and the drapery arrangements of the seated virgins recall Lower Rhenish (especially Dutch) painting of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. A comparison of this engraving with the work of the Master of the Virgins among the Virgins,[3] active at Delft between 1470 and 1500, is revealing.

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[1] *Jacobus de Voragine,* The Golden Legend, *trans. by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, 2 vols., London and New York, 1941, pp. 627-31.*

[2] *See Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *nos. 149, 155, 156.*

[3] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *V, pl. XLI; also* Middeleuwse Kunst, *pl. 24.*

183-194

TWELVE SCENES OF THE PASSION, CA. 1480

Lehrs IX.150.142-153, first state
Each about 210 x 145 mm.

Provenance: Geelhand Collection, Antwerp; Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels and Bonn, Lugt 567; purchased from William Schab, 1952

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* pp. 6-7, 293; Warburg, *Meckenem,* pp. 59-65, pls. 12-17

The twelve engravings of this series appear to be Meckenem's original inventions, although there are occasional borrowings of motifs from Schongauer. Warburg speculated that the new orderliness with which these prints are conceived, their clarity of composition and spatial structure and their animated narrative quality derive from Meckenem's exposure to Flemish painting. Warburg hypothesized that Meckenem traveled to Flanders in the late 1470's and became acquainted with the current styles of the leading Netherlandish art centers. She attributed the new spatial quality in Meckenem's work to the influence of Dirk Bouts.[1] This hypothesis is certainly more believable than Lehrs's suggestion that the twelve engravings are copies of relief sculptures from carved altarpieces, to say nothing of Wurzbach's fanciful notion that they were designed by the Bruges miniaturist, Ida van der Ameye.[2] Wurzbach assumed that Meckenem collaborated with and married this mysterious female miniaturist. His idea was based solely on the presence of the name "Ide" on Meckenem's renowned self-portrait with his wife (cat. no. 244).

To be sure, this Passion series represents a break with Meckenem's earlier style. The prints are larger in format and depict more elaborate, incredibly deep spaces, with complicated views into adjoining rooms. For the first time in Meckenem's work, the perspective is rational and we are convinced of the correctness of the relationship of space to space, and interior to exterior. The prints are also like panel paintings in their ambitious combinations of subjects and the highly sophisticated play of light and shade.[3] Each of the prints is enlivened by the presence of secondary scenes in the distance or in background spaces. Sometimes (cat. nos. 183, 191), a traditionally subsidiary event (albeit one with great human interest) is in the foreground and the major event is relegated to the background.

Despite the compositional sophistication, the figures which populate the twelve Passion engravings are still closely related to the horrible exaggerated types of the Meckenem prints of ca. 1475. The awkward, unbalanced postures and the grotesque, grimacing faces—with each facial detail insistently described—are the major factors which contribute to the effect of violence and to the weird psychological, almost nightmarish overtones which permeate each scene. In the interior scenes, the gruesome happenings are especially terrible because they take place in and provide so great a contrast to the carefully articulated, rational spaces.

This entire series, each engraving in the first known state, was formerly in the Arenberg Collection in Brussels and Bonn where it was studied by Lehrs. Lehrs considered these impressions to be among the finest of the approximately 40 surviving sets he had seen.[4] Since that time the prints have been cleaned and traces of overpainted color have been removed.

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[1] *A comparison of cat. no. 194 with Bouts's* Passover Feast *(Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *III, pl. XXV) is revealing. Cf. also pls. XXIV, XLIII.*

[2] *A. von Wurzbach,* Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon, *III, pp. 119-21.*

[3] *For specific connections with Flemish paintings see Warburg,* Meckenem, *pp. 61-63.*

[4] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *IX, p. 166.*

183

CHRIST WASHING THE FEET OF THE APOSTLES

Lehrs IX.150.142
210 x 147 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,632

Three events are shown in succession in the medieval mode of continuous narrative. In the rear room, the Last Supper takes place. Christ is seated in front of the window opposite Judas who clutches his bag of silver. In the foreground antechamber, Christ washes the feet of St. Peter (John 13:4 ff.) as Judas departs at the left, his moneybag held prominently in his left hand. Beyond the brick wall in the corner, Christ prays in Gethsemane, as Peter, James, and John have fallen asleep. In the distance, Judas leads the throng into the garden, predicting the events of the next engraving.

184

THE BETRAYAL

Lehrs IX.152.143
209 x 147 mm.
B-20,633

Judas kisses Christ to identify Him to the soldiers and the servants of the priests. At the left, St. Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus in a futile attempt to protect his Master (John 18:10), as James and John flee through the gate.

185

CHRIST BEFORE ANNAS

Lehrs IX.153.144
208 x 144 mm.
B-20,634

Christ is led before Annas, the high priest (John 18:13), by Malchus and another figure seen from the rear. At the left, St. Peter is recognized as a disciple of Christ by a maidservant and is grabbed by a soldier. In the background, two officers warm themselves by a fire (John 18:18). In a rear room at the left, Christ is blindfolded and mocked.

186

THE FLAGELLATION

Lehrs IX.154.145
210 x 148 mm.
B-20,635

In the right background, Christ is taken before Herod. In the foreground, He is bound to a column and whipped with switch and lash. Pilate appears in the doorway at the left.

187

THE CROWNING WITH THORNS

Lehrs IX.156.146
210 x 146 mm.
B-20,636

Christ is crowned with thorns by three bailiffs as a fourth man—a caricature of the Moorish type of Schongauer—mockingly hands him a scepter. Pilate, his back to us, stands in the doorway conversing with another figure. Annas, his face black with hate, appears in the left background with two evil advisors. The two dogs in the foreground symbolize the bestiality of man (cf. cat. nos. 56, 57). Curiously, the Meckenem coat of arms hangs from the candlestick on the wall behind Christ.

188

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE

Lehrs IX.157.147
205 x 144 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,637

In an obvious variation on the composition invented by Schongauer (cat. no. 57), Meckenem depicts the judgment hall of Pilate. Christ is led in at the right, as Pilate washes his hands to declare his innocence (Matthew 27:24). In the left background, the cross is already being prepared, while at the right Judas tries to return the bag of silver to the elders. The figure in the foreground who leads Christ by a rope and grasps Him by the collar appears to be derived ultimately from the executioner in the right wing of Roger van der Weyden's *St. John Altarpiece.*[1]

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[1] *Reproduced in Panofsky,* Netherlandish Painting, *pl. 205, fig. 345; this painting is also a good example of the kind of Flemish picture which influenced Meckenem in the late 1470's. The scene is set in a noble interior with patterned tile floors and with vistas into distant rooms where other related events are taking place.*

189

ECCE HOMO

Lehrs IX.158.148
212 x 147 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,638

Christ is led before the people who clamor for His crucifixion. The figure at the forefront of the crowd already has a hammer in his hand. The monkey on a rope is probably an allusion to man's sinfulness. As a human touch in the background, Pilate confers with his wife, who, according to Matthew 27:19, advised him to do nothing to help Jesus, since she had been troubled by dreams of Him all day.

190

THE BEARING OF THE CROSS

Lehrs IX.160.149
211 x 146 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,639

Christ carries the cross out of the city gate, followed by a great throng including Annas and Pilate on horseback. Simon of Cyrene helps Christ bear His heavy burden. In the right background, the Virgin faints into the arms of St. John.

191

THE CRUCIFIXION

Lehrs IX.161.150
208 x 145 mm.
B-20,640

In the foreground, Christ is seated as the final preparations are made and holes are bored in the cross. The hammer and three nails lie on the ground. At the right, two soldiers fight over Christ's robe. A third soldier is about to draw his sword, as a fourth man places a hand on his shoulder. The actual Crucifixion occurs in the background. The Virgin faints at the foot of the cross, and Pilate, on horseback, looks on.

192

THE LAMENTATION

Lehrs IX.162.151
208 x 143 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10
B-20,641

Christ is removed from the cross at the upper left. In the foreground the Virgin holds her Son, while Joseph of Arimathea supports His head. Others cry and wring their hands. The Magdalene, at the left, opens the ointment jar, as Nicodemus prepares the tomb which is surrounded by a high rock formation. This may be a reference to the statement in Matthew 27:60 that the tomb was "hewn in rock." The limp figure of Christ recalls Flemish painting, and may have been inspired by a Rogerian prototype.[1]

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[1] *Friedländer,* Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pls. XVII, XXXIX.*

193

THE RESURRECTION

Lehrs IX.163.152
209 x 145 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,642

An angel turns aside the lid of the tomb as Christ steps out bearing the banner of the Resurrection. All but one of the guards is aroused, and one of them (to the left of Christ's right hand) is stupefied by what he sees. At the left, Christ has battered down the door of Limbo and is releasing the souls of Adam and Eve and various Old Testament prophets.

194

CHRIST AT EMMAUS

Lehrs IX.164.153
208 x 146 mm.
Watermark: Gothic Y with cross, close to Lehrs 43
B-20,643

After the Resurrection, Christ appeared several times, to Mary Magdalene (cat. no. 77) and to two disciples near the village of Emmaus. Through the window at the upper right, Christ, dressed as a gardener, appears to the Magdalene. At the left, unrecognized, Christ joins the two disciples as they cross a bridge on their way to an inn. Thinking Him to be a stranger, the disciples invite Jesus to dine with them. Only when He blessed the bread and broke it did the disciples recognize Him as Christ (Luke 24:30-31).

195

THE BEHEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Ca. 1480
Lehrs IX.296.366
211 x 155 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 165, May 6, 1930, no. 879; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2692

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 299; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 18

The story of Salome and John the Baptist is related in Mark 6:17-29 (see also cat. no. 232). John had been imprisoned by King Herod for having publicly criticized Herod's unlawful marriage to Herodias, the wife of Herod's deceased brother. While John was in prison, Herod gave a banquet to which he invited all his courtiers and officers and the leading citizens of Galilee. To entertain the guests, Salome, the daughter of Herodias, danced before them. Herod was so pleased with the girl's dancing that he offered to grant her any wish. Salome knew her mother's hatred for John, and, instigated by her mother, requested the head of John the Baptist. In Meckenem's engraving, the decapitation occurs at the left. The executioner is about to place John's head on a salver held by Salome. At the right, Salome presents the head to her mother—almost as if it is one of the dishes for the feast—as Herod looks on aghast and three unperturbed musicians continue to play their trumpets.

The complex spatial construction and the use of architectural parts to separate the successive events relate this work to the Passion series of ca. 1480 (cat. nos. 183-94).

196

THE CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1480
Lehrs IX.43.44, second state
268 x 184 mm.
Watermark: Orb with cross

Provenance: Unidentified collector's stamp, Lugt 913; Alfred Morrison, London, Lugt 151; R. Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna, Lugt 2770; purchased from Kennedy and Co., 1929
B-2660

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 101

This engraving is profitably compared with cat. no. 176 which was done about five years earlier. The basic composition and details such as the bristle-like haloes are much the same, but the physiognomies are no longer quite so brutal and the gestures of the Madonna and St. John are more realistic and believable. The drapery modeling, though still fine and loose, is less scratchy and more systematically organized. Mounds of earth have replaced the harsh striated formations of shale.

The blank background and the large proportions of the three figures suggest a derivation from the kind of canon woodcuts found in missals of the late fifteenth century.[1] The figure of Christ derives ultimately from the type of Roger van der Weyden.[2] [illegible]

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[1] *Field*, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *nos. 50, 52, 55.*

[2] *Friedländer*, Altniederländische Malerei, *II, pls. X, XIII.*

197-198

TWO ENGRAVINGS FROM A SERIES OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES IN SIX SHEETS, CA. 1480-85

The engravings of this series show the Apostles in pairs, standing behind balustrades under which the Apostle's Creed appears on scrolls in elaborate gothic lettering. The facial types recall those of the Passion series (cat. nos. 183-94) and the *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 196). The dense hatching of the background points to Meckenem's later work and suggests a date shortly after 1480.

197

ST. PETER AND ST. ANDREW

Lehrs IX.245.294, first state
203 x 141 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24

Provenance: Albertina duplicate;
purchased from Richard Zinser, 1945
B-13,079

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 238

St. Peter with his attribute, the key, and St. Andrew with the X-cross, appear under a round arch decorated with intertwining tree branches and ornamental leaves. The inscription reads "Credo in deum Et in ihesu xpm" (I believe in God and in Jesus Christ).

198

ST. THOMAS AND ST. JAMES THE LESS

Lehrs IX.247.296, first state
201 x 143 mm.

Provenance: Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 21; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2686

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 252

St. Thomas holds a builder's rule in reference to the story that an Indian king asked him to design a beautiful palace. Thomas, however, distributed the king's money among the poor, explaining that by faith and good acts it was possible to build up a store of wealth in heaven. The angered king promised to take vengeance against Thomas. At this time, though, the king's brother died. When he arrived in heaven, angels asked where he would like to live. He pointed to a magnificent palace, but the angels told him that it had been built for his brother, the king, by a Christian. The dead brother appeared to the king in a vision to tell of the palace he had seen, and Thomas was set free unharmed.

St. James is identified by the club with which he was beaten to death.

The inscription reads "Descendit ad inferna, Ascendit ad celos" (He descended to hell, He ascended into heaven).

199-205

COPIES AFTER MARTIN SCHONGAUER, CA. 1480-90

Whereas Master E.S. was one of Meckenem's basic sources of inspiration in the late 1460's and 1470's, Meckenem turned more frequently to Schongauer models in the 1480's. There are 58 Meckenem engravings directly copied from Schongauer prints. Several other Meckenem prints appear to reproduce Schongauer drawings which have not survived (cat. nos. 203, 204, 210).

199

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.48.49, seventh state
249 x 168 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2665

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 124

This is a careful copy after Schongauer's engraving, L.16 (cat. no. 41), reversed by the printing process. In the Schongauer, St. Peter, at the right side of the bed, holds a book. Here he holds the aspergillum in his right hand and reaches out toward the bed with his left. The dry, dense multiple hatching in the shadows of the bedclothes and on the wall above the Virgin's pillow is characteristic of Meckenem's work in the 1480's and 1490's.

200

THE GRIFFIN

Lehrs IX.386.494
113 x 104 mm. (trimmed)

Provenance: Eldridge R. Johnson sale, Parke-Bernet, Apr. 3, 1946, no. 62
B-13,651

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 439

Reversed copy after Schongauer, L.93 (cat. no. 88).

201

THE ANNUNCIATION

Lehrs IX.17.14, second state
159 x 108 mm.
Many thin spots and restorations

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2656

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 19

Reversed copy after Schongauer's engraving, L.1 (cat. no. 64). The angel wears no wreath and the rug is patterned with single rather than double lines. The pillow on the stool at the left is decorated with embroidery.

202

ST. MARTIN

Lehrs IX.301.372
163 x 112 mm.
Ink restoration at lower left near beggar's hand

Provenance: Albertina duplicate; purchased from
Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-2696

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 305

Reversed copy after Schongauer, L.62 (cat. no. 47).

203

ST. MARGARET

Lehrs IX.324.409, first state
162 x 111 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1945
B-11,263

References: Max Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVII, 1894, p. 193; M. Lehrs, "Eine italienische Kopie nach Israhel van Meckenem," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, XXXIX, 1916, pp. 17-19; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 343

St. Margaret was the beautiful daughter of a pagan priest. Converted to Christianity by her nurse, Margaret decided to dedicate her life to Christ. When she refused to marry the governor of Antioch, Margaret was thrown into a dungeon where she was confronted by Satan in the form of a dragon breathing fire. The dragon swallowed Margaret whole. Margaret's cross, however, miraculously grew in size until it pierced open the dragon's side, permitting Margaret to escape unharmed. Because of this legend, Margaret's attribute is the dragon, usually represented as a docile pet-like creature which Margaret easily subdues. Because of her unique deliverance from the dragon, St. Margaret became the patron of women in childbirth.

Although no surviving work by Schongauer is related to this engraving, the female facial type, the drapery forms, and the technique suggest that a lost drawing by Schongauer served as its model. Lehrs felt that there was a connection between this Meckenem engraving and a Schongauer school drawing in Basel.[1] In the church library of Isny in Württemberg is a Venetian engraving[2] which probably goes back to the same Schongauer source as Meckenem's *St. Margaret.*

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[1] *Reproduced in F. Winzinger,* Die Zeichnungen Martin Schongauers, *Berlin, 1962, no. 105.*

[2] *Lehrs IX.325.409a; reproduced in* Mitteilungen, *XXXIX, 1916, p. 18.*

204

ST. CATHERINE

Lehrs IX.322.406, first state
163 x 110 mm.
Watermark: Fleur-de-lis with crown, Briquet 7226
(paper manufactured in Bocholt, 1488)

Provenance: G. Parthey, Berlin, Lugt 2014;
purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-23,818

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 338

The story of St. Catherine is found under cat. no. 83. The present engraving is closely related to Schongauer's *St. Catherine* (cat. no. 83) in pose and iconography. The figural proportions and graphic vocabulary also call to mind the work of Master i.e. (cat. no. 116) and several drawings from Schongauer's circle.[1] Like the preceding catalogue entry, this engraving was probably also copied from a lost drawing by Schongauer or one of his associates.

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[1] *See Winzinger,* Die Zeichnungen Schongauers, *nos. 80-83.*

205

ST. LAWRENCE

Lehrs IX.299.369
163 x 112 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2094

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 302

Reversed copy after Schongauer, L.61 (cat. no. 112).

206

COAT OF ARMS WITH TUMBLING BOY

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.410.521
147 x 115 mm.

Provenance: Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 176, May 2, 1932, no. 40; Purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1933
B-2721

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 442

This is one of the twelve engravings Meckenem copied from the Master of the Housebook (Lehrs VIII.163.91). Meckenem has added his initials at the top and the city name "bocholt" at the bottom. A rather fleshy youngster turns a somersault within the shield, while above a peasant woman works at her spinning as she sits on the back of her unhappy husband who is forced to hold up her distaff. The battle between the sexes was a common humorous subject in late fifteenth-century engravings. The female was usually portrayed as the victor.

207

COAT OF ARMS WITH LION

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.411.522
160 x 116 mm. (trimmed)

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5g; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2722

References: H. Shaw, *Handbook of Mediæval Alphabets and Devices*, London, 1853, pl. 36; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 443

Geisberg considered this shield to be a copy after a lost engraving by the Master of the Housebook, but it is more likely a work of Meckenem's own invention. It is a typical goldsmith's print of heraldry, intended as a model for metalworkers and other artisans. Compare cat. no. 141.

208

THE FOOLISH OLD MAN AND THE GIRL

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.381.489, fifth state
145 x 112 mm. (sheet)

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2709

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 400

Reversed copy after the Master of the Housebook (Lehrs VIII.148.74). In this coarsened version of the Housebook Master's moralizing print, a lustful elderly man puts his arm around a young woman. She looks at him slyly as she returns his affections and greedily puts her hand on his sack of gold coins.

209

ST. CHRISTOPHER

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.272.328, third state
164 x 107 mm.
Watermark: Chalice, close to Briquet 4587, 4589

Provenance: Eldridge R. Johnson sale, Parke-Bernet, Apr. 3, 1946, no. 61
B-13,653

References: E. K. Stahl, *Die Legende vom hl. Riesen Christophorus in der Graphik des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1920, p. 187; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 269

Reversed copy after the Master of the Housebook (Lehrs VIII.112.34). Meckenem added the orb and banner in the Christ Child's hand and deleted the birds which fly through the sky in the Housebook Master's original. See cat. no. 81 for the legend of St. Christopher.

210

HEAD OF AN AGED MAN

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.405.515
207 x 131 mm.

Provenance: J. Marshall, London, Lugt 1494; A. Morrison, London, Lugt 151; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2719

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* no. 418; Geisberg, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem,* Strassburg, 1903, p. 31, footnote 1, pp. 43, 128; F. Winzinger. *Die Zeichnungen Martin Schongauers,* Berlin, 1962, pp. 87-88, no. 53; Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, fig. 32

This is the only Meckenem print in which the engraver's full name (followed by the word *goltsmit*) appears. Even in Meckenem's late period the signature is usually abbreviated to "Israhel" or "Israhel van M." It is thus possible that the name in the present case was not intended as a signature, but rather as an identification of the sitter. Meckenem's father was also called Israhel and is now universally considered to have been the goldsmith-engraver known to scholarship as the Master of the Berlin Passion (see cat. nos. 20-22). We are tempted to speculate that Meckenem intended the present engraving as an idealized portrait of his father.

Although the print has heretofore been identified as a "Head of an Oriental," the face can not truly be said to have any oriental features. Indeed, the physiognomy and the long curly beard are almost identical to Schongauer's drawing of a bearded old man in the collection in Copenhagen.[1] There can be little doubt that Meckenem's engraving was based on a lost Schongauer drawing which was similar to the Copenhagen example.[2]

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[1] *Illustrated in J. Rosenberg,* Martin Schongauer Handzeichnungen, *Munich, 1923, no. 20; Winzinger,* Zeichnungen Schongauers, *no. 8.*

[2] *Other Schongauer drawings of the type which undoubtedly served as Meckenem's source are: Rosenberg 14, Winzinger 17, 19.*

211

THE MADONNA WITH THE CLOCK

Ca. 1490
Lehrs IX.191.191
111 x 104 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2673

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis,* no. 176; Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, fig. 6

The scene is enframed by a circle decorated with four large leaf ornaments, which endow the image with the character of a piece of jewelry. Within the frame are four figures. The Madonna strokes the cheek of a monk with her left hand. In her right hand she holds the Child who is about to strike his hammer against the bell on a large clock held by an angel. The striking of the bell to announce the time of day suggests a connection with the canonical hours. A similar Christ Child striking a bell appears in a unique xylographic Book of Hours in Bamberg, the *Horologium Passionale.*[1]

A rosary with only three beads lies on the table top. The Latin inscription in the round frame reads:

> Ave potentissima et humilissima virgo Maria
> Ave sapientissima et humilissima virgo Maria
> Ave benignissima et humilissima virgo Maria
> Gratia plena dominus tecum
>
> Hail most powerful and humblest Virgin Mary
> Hail most wise and humblest Virgin Mary
> Hail sweetest and humblest Virgin Mary
> Full of grace, the Lord is with thee

The size and format of this print suggests that it is a pattern for goldsmith's work, probably for a pax (see cat. no. 32), reliquary box, or locket. The monk's habit and the presence of the rosary suggest a connection with either the Dominican or Capuchin orders.

The gentle faces and the dense hatching of the background point to a date in the late 1480's or 1490's.

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[1] *Reproduced in W. L. Schreiber,* Manuel de l'Amateur de la Gravure sur Bois et sur Métal, *VII, Berlin, 1895, pl. LX.*

212

SEVEN CHILDREN AT PLAY

Ca. 1490
Lehrs IX.373.479, first state
110 x 140 mm.

Provenance: Hollstein and Puppel, Berlin, Auction 41 (Schloss E), May 6, 1929, no. 495; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2708

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 387; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 39

No adequate explanation has yet been given for this apparently fanciful scene of seven children at play. One rides a hobby horse while others are busy concocting or drinking punch or working at their letters. It is possible that the print is allegorical or represents some now obscure proverb of North Germany or the low countries, the meaning of which was obvious to Meckenem's contemporaries.

213

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY

Ca. 1480-90
Lehrs IX.283.348, second state
104 x 76 mm. (including inscription)

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5g; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2691

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 286

The story of Christ's miraculous apparition to St. Gregory as he was officiating at Mass is found under cat. no. 214. The Latin inscription reads: "Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi" (We adore thee, O Christ, and bless thee).

214

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY

Ca. 1480-85
Lehrs IX.288.353
215 x 149 mm. (including inscription)

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1948
B-15,212

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 291; Geisberg, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem*, p. 65

St. Gregory the Great was a sixth-century pope and one of the four Latin Church Fathers. He did much to spread the teachings of St. Benedict and is known for his *Dialogues*, his homilies on Ezekiel and on the Gospels, and his commentary on Job. Gregory's name is also connected with the codification of the liturgy and chant of the Church (Gregorian chant).

One legend regarding St. Gregory which became popular in the fifteenth century does not appear in *The Golden Legend* or in any earlier biography of the saint. It is said that as Gregory was celebrating Mass in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Rome, one of his assistants expressed doubt that Christ was actually present in the host. At that moment the Saviour appeared, surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, displaying the stigmata. Because this story is a dramatic illustration of the meaning of the Mass and of the transubstantiation, the fifteenth-century popes attached indulgences to artists' images of the Gregorian Mass.[1] This practice may derive from the report that Santa Croce at one time possessed a painting which was said to have been painted in the sixth century by St. Gregory himself, in order to provide posterity with a record of the miracle he had witnessed. Pilgrims who came to Rome to see this painting are said to have been granted an indulgence of 14,000 years.[2]

In the Meckenem engraving Pope Gregory, seen from the back, kneels at the altar on which he has placed the paten and chalice. Christ appears on the altar, arising from His tomb. Blood flows from the wound in His side into the chalice. To Gregory's left and right are two kneeling deacons. At the left of the altar two cardinals hold Gregory's tiara and staff. At the right are two bishops. The entire rear wall is covered by the instruments of the Passion which are spread out like trophies. The Latin inscription below indicates that the sheet was intended as an indulgence:

> Quicumque devote septem orationes apostolicas coram Christi armis legerit et septem Pater Noster Ave Maria subiunxerit quotiens id fecerit de indulgentia XX milium annorum gaudebit
>
> Whoever piously recites before the instruments of Christ's Passion (the arms of Christ) seven Credos, seven Pater Nosters and Ave Marias, and as often as he does, shall enjoy an indulgence of 20,000 years.

In a later state of this engraving, Meckenem altered the inscription. He burnished out the Roman numeral XX and replaced it with XLV, thus more than doubling the length of the indulgence to 45,000 years.

The delicate modeling, the spatial construction, and the facial types suggest a date in the early 1480's, close to the time of the Passion series (cat. nos. 183-94).

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1. *For examples see Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *nos. 2[illegible]80.*

[illegible] *history of the Gregorian Mass iconography is found in* [illegible]*. Andres, "Die Darstellung der Gregoriusmesse im Mittelalter,"* Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst, *XXX, 1917, pp. 146-56.*

215

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.289.354, first state
463 x 294 mm., printed on two sheets joined horizontally
Watermark: Crowned shield with two fish and two fleurs-de-lis, Lehrs 35

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1953
B-21,489

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 292; Geisberg, *Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem*, pp. 124, 133; M. Lehrs, "Über einige verschollenen Werke Hans Holbeins des Aelteren," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, IV, 1891, p. 365; Warburg, *Meckenem*, p. 72; *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, Augsburg, 1965 (exhibition catalogue), no. 220

This is the largest and most elaborate of Meckenem's ten prints of the Gregorian Mass (L. 345-54; cf. cat. nos. 213-14). The miracle occurs in a vaulted early Gothic church and is witnessed by a throng of pilgrims and churchmen in ecclesiastical garb who crowd around the altar. The allegorical meaning of the Mass and the sacrifice of Christ is underlined by the triptych of the Passion which appears behind the Man of Sorrows above the altar.

As in the prints from the Life of the Virgin series (cat. nos. 216-27), also done in the 1490's, the scene is gently illuminated and is characterized by a subdued tonal harmony. The modeling is extremely delicate, but creates a variety of rich textures, characteristic of Meckenem's most mature style. The facial and figure types recall Hans Holbein the Elder. Lehrs has postulated that the engraving was copied from a lost Holbein painting.

The inscription reads:

> Quotiens quis coram armis christi quicumque orationes apostolicas cum quicumque Pater Noster et Ave Maria devote dixerit XX milibus annorum a penis purgatorii exonoratus erit
>
> Whoever recites in the presence of the arms of Christ the Apostle's Creed, the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria, and as often as he does so, shall be pardoned 20,000 years of punishment in purgatory

Meckenem has signed the print twice. The initials I and M appear at either end of the altar cloth, flanking the words "jhesus maria." The monogram IVM also appears on the floor below the folds of St. Gregory's chasuble.

216-227

THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, CA. 1490-1500

This suite of twelve engravings is one of the major productions of Meckenem's mature period.[1] Technically, these sheets are among his most refined and controlled works. The delicate textures and soft warmth of tone are achieved with fine systems of parallel cross-hatching. The figures exist in comfortable spaces which are gently illuminated from the left.

Alfred Woltmann[2] was the first to recognize the connection between the style of these sheets and the paintings of Hans Holbein the Elder. Woltmann pointed out that four of the engravings (cat. nos. 216, 217, 218, 223) are directly related to the four panels of Holbein's early *Weingartener Altarpiece* which was completed in 1493.[3] Curt Glaser later suggested that Meckenem never saw the actual Holbein paintings but somehow acquired and copied Holbein's preliminary drawings for the *Weingartener Altar*. According to Glaser,[4] Meckenem's engravings reproduce twelve Holbein preliminary drawings of which only four were actually translated into paintings by Holbein. The fact that Meckenem worked from Holbein's drawings rather than from the painted panels accounts for the minor compositional variations which differentiate the Meckenem prints from Holbein's works. Most scholars are in accord with Glaser's thesis and believe that the young Holbein was a major influence on Meckenem's work of the 1490's.[5] Recently, however, Paul Pieper[6] has argued for the priority of Meckenem's engravings. He claims that Holbein was young and unknown in the 1490's, and that there would have been no reason for Meckenem to seek out Holbein designs. More likely, according to Pieper, the youthful Holbein collected prints upon which he relied as models. When he received the commission to paint the wings of the *Weingartener Altar* he elected to use as his patterns four of the Meckenem prints in his possession. Pieper points out that there is no South German precedent for the pictorial structures of the four Weingartener panels with subsidiary scenes placed in the corners. These occur almost exclusively in the Westphalian-Lower Rhenish region, in the work of Derick Baegert of Wesel, for example, or in Meckenem's own Passion series of ca. 1480 (cat. nos. 183-94).

The whole question of the relationship of Holbein and Meckenem has been taken up most recently by Bruno Bushart in the catalogue of the comprehensive Holbein exhibition held at Augsburg in 1965.[7] The literature is reviewed and Pieper's arguments are refuted to some degree. Bushart is inclined to accept the original theory that Meckenem's Life of the Virgin series is based in its entirety on lost drawings from the hand of Holbein the Elder.

216

JOACHIM'S SACRIFICE

Lehrs IX.52.50, first state
268 x 186 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-23,816

Joachim stands dejected in the foreground, his hat in his hand. His offering at the temple has been rejected by the high priest since Joachim's wife Anna had never given birth to a child. According to law, only the offerings of those who had fathered a child could be accepted. Joachim went into the wilderness to fast and pray for forty days and nights. As he was tending sheep in the mountains an angel appeared to him and advised him that Anna would soon give birth to a daughter. In the engraving, the angel appears to Joachim in the upper left corner.

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[1] *Discussed in Warburg,* Meckenem, *pp. 72-76.*

[2] *Alfred Woltmann,* Holbein und seine Zeit, *2nd ed., Leipzig, 1874, p.44ff.*

[3] *Reproduced in Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange,* Hans Holbein der Ältere, *Munich-Berlin, 1960, pls. 10-13;* Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik, *Augsburg, 1965 (exhibition catalogue), pls. 7-10.*

[4] *Curt Glaser,* Hans Holbein der Ältere, *Leipzig, 1908, pp. 163-65.*

[5] *See M. Lehrs, "Über einige verschollene Werke Hans Holbeins d.A.,"* Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst, *IV, 1891, pp. 361-70; Warburg,* Meckenem, *pp. 72ff., 96ff.; L. Baldass, "Niederländische Bildgedanken in Werken des älteren Hans Holbein,"* Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, *II (Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance), Augsburg, 1928, p. 164.*

[6] *Paul Pieper, "Israhel van Meckenem, Das Marienleben,"* Festgruss für Dr. h.c. Eduard Trautscholdt, *Hamburg, 1965, pp. 68-78.*

[7] Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik, *pp. 163-168; bibliography of the Meckenem-Holbein problem appears on p. 168.*

217

THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.54.51
266 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, close to Lehrs 24

Provenance: William Esdaile, London, Lugt 2617;
purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2661

At the upper right Joachim returns and greets Anna at the Golden Gate. He learns that an angel has announced the glad tidings to Anna and that she is already with child. In the handsome foreground room, Anna reclines in bed, attended by four handmaidens. Mary has already been born and is held by the head maidservant (identified by her money pouch and key ring) who tests the heat of the baby's bath water with her foot. Mary's cradle awaits at the right. The deeply significant event—the conception of Mary by divine intervention and the birth of the mother of the Saviour—is transformed by Meckenem into a domestic scene of great charm.

218

THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.56.52
268 x 186 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-23,817

At a tender age, Mary was taken to the temple, since Anna had promised that if her prayer for a child were answered, the child would be dedicated to the service of God. Joachim and Anna appear in the right foreground, as Mary mounts the steps toward the awaiting priest. In the upper left, Mary and three other young women can be seen inside the temple, working at spinning and cutting cloth.

219

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.57.53
264 x 181 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Czartoryski Collection, Poland, Lugt 2801;
C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 157, 1928, pl. XXVIII;
purchased from Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2662

Mary had lived in the temple for ten years when she was informed by the high priest, Zacharias, that she was to marry. An angel had appeared to Zacharias, telling him to assemble all the marriageable men and to have each bring a staff or wand which was to be left in the temple overnight. According to the apocryphal tradition of St. Jerome, the staff of Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth, suddenly blossomed. This was taken as a sign that he was divinely chosen to be Mary's bridegroom. In Meckenem's engraving, the bachelors and widowers appear in the background marching around the altar (on which Meckenem has conspicuously placed his name). Joseph leads the group with his leaf-bearing staff. In the foreground, Zacharias joins the hands of Joseph and Mary as the rejected suitors and Mary's companions look on.

220

THE ANNUNCIATION

Lehrs IX.59.54
265 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Ewer with crown and flower, Lehrs 17

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1950
B-13,078

The Annunication occurs in the foreground (cf. cat. nos. 64, 114-15), while through a window at the upper right we see the Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth (cf. cat. no. 7). The Visitation scene is related to the background scene of the *Presentation* in Holbein's *Weingartener Altar.*[1]

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[1] *Reproduced in Lieb and Stange,* Holbein der Ältere, *pl. 12.*

221

THE NATIVITY

Lehrs IX.60.55
264 x 186 mm.
Watermark: Ewer with cross, Lehrs 14

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-22,308

For the iconography of the Nativity and for other treatments of the same subject see cat. nos. 38 and 74. In the upper left corner is the annunciation to the shepherds. The shepherds heed the angelic message and come to the stable to adore the infant; they peer through an arched window in the center of the scene. This Meckenem engraving is an extremely close copy in reverse of the Holbein *Nativity* in Donaueschingen.[1]

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[1] *See* Hans Holbein der Ältere, *Augsburg, 1965, (exhibition catalogue), nos. 30, 198; Lieb and Stange,* Holbein der Ältere, *pl. 41.*

222

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Lehrs IX.62.56
261 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1959
B-23,814

In the background the three kings and their entourages join together for the journey to Bethlehem. In the foreground they greet the child. Melchior kneels, while the Moorish king, Caspar, stands to the right and offers his gift, a vessel of myrrh and frankincense. At the left, the eldest king, Balthasar, offers an elaborate chalice. For other iconographical details of the Adoration of the Magi see cat. nos. 11, 136. Meckenem's engraving is closely related to a drawing by Holbein the Elder in the Basel print room.[1] It is likely that a similar drawing, now lost, was the source for the present engraving.

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[1] Hans Holbein der Ältere, *Augsburg, 1965 (exhibition catalogue), no. 74, pl. 75; Lieb and Stange,* Holbein der Ältere, *no. 74, pls. 152-53.*

223

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Lehrs IX.64.57
269 x 181 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24
Repaired horizontal tear about 50 mm. from bottom

Provenance: W. Edwards, London, Lugt 2616;
Dr. G. Güttler, Bavaria, Lugt 2807b; C. G. Boerner,
Leipzig, Auction 157, 1928; purchased from
Charles Sessler, 1928
B-2663

According to the law of Israel, a mother was required to undergo a thirty-three day period of purification following the birth of a male child. When the time was over, the child was brought to the temple and sacrifices offered by his family. Mary and Joseph took the Child to the temple in Jerusalem. In Meckenem's engraving, the Virgin hands the Child to the priest, while Joseph and a woman holding the sacrifice, two turtle doves, appear to the right. It has often been noted that the servant woman is borrowed from the corresponding figure in Roger van der Weyden's *Presentation of Christ* from the *Columba Altarpiece* in Munich. Holbein the Elder must have known the Roger painting, since Meckenem's source for the present engraving was probably Holbein's preliminary drawing for the panel of *The Circumcision* in Holbein's *Weingartener Altarpiece.*

In the upper right of Meckenem's engraving is the scene of Christ's circumcision.

224

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

Lehrs IX.66.58
265 x 180 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Purchased from Knoedler and Co., 1930
B-2664

When King Herod was told of the birth of the divine Infant who was destined to become King of the Jews, he ordered that all male children under two years of age be executed. The cruel mass murder which resulted is poignantly depicted by Meckenem. Several mothers grieve over their dead children, as Herod sits impassively on his throne. Joseph had been forewarned by an angel and advised to take his family to safety. In the upper right corner Joseph is seen leading Mary and the Child to Egypt.

225

CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS

Lehrs IX.68.59
260 x 184 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Waldburg-Wolfegg Collection, Lugt 2542; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1945
B-11,262

When Christ was twelve years old, His family took Him from Nazareth to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover. On the return journey, Mary and Joseph discovered that Jesus had stayed behind in Jerusalem, and they returned to look for Him. After three days they found Him in the temple surrounded by the rabbis, or doctors, with whom He was engaged in learned debate. According to St. Luke (2:46-48), all who heard Him were amazed at His wisdom.

At the upper right we see Joseph and Mary searching for the lost Child; at the upper left they enter the temple and find Him sitting among the learned men.

226

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.69.60
259 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Shield with crowned R and two fleurs-de-lis, Lehrs 38

Provenance: W. Edwards, London, Lugt 2616; purchased from William Schab, 1951
B-19,135

The iconography of the Death of the Virgin is found under cat. no. 41. In the left background is the rare portrayal of the Virgin's funeral procession. John leads the way carrying a palm branch; four other Apostles serve as pallbearers. According to Lehrs, the two figures who fall under the casket are unbelievers who tried to halt the funeral march but were suddenly seized by convulsions which sent them tumbling to the ground.

227

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

Lehrs IX.71.61
259 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Fragment of Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1953
B-23,815

Angels celebrate the holy event as Mary is received into Heaven by the Trinity and is about to be crowned Queen of Heaven. In anthropomorphic representations of the Trinity, God the Father is usually identified by a crown, Christ by his wounds, and the Holy Ghost by his wings. Here, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are endowed with almost identical human forms and are thus interchangeable and indistinguishable one from the other. Lehrs has suggested that the figure on the right is intended as God the Father because the border of His cape is the most richly decorated of the three!

Mechenem has added the words "tzu boeckholt" (from Bocholt) to his signature and has placed his initials (with the I horizontally superimposed over the M) on the clasp of the figure on the right. The rich backdrop of drapery extending from one corner of the scene to the other seems to be without precedent in German art.

228

THE CRUCIFIXION

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.41.43, second state
264 x 181 mm.
Watermark: Shield with three fleurs-de-lis and affixed letter T, Lehrs 41

Provenance: Purchased from P. and D. Colnaghi, 1928
B-2659

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 100

For the Crucifixion iconography see cat. no. 46. This handsome devotional engraving is typical of Meckenem's final style. The gentle illumination, the graphic richness, the character of the facial types and drapery folds, as well as the dense modeling of the background can be favorably compared to the Life of the Virgin series (cat. nos. 216-27) or the *Alltagsleben* (cat. nos. 233-43). An extra layer of diagonal hatching creates deep shadows around the figures and detaches them from the background plane. A glance at an earlier Meckenem *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 176) dramatically reveals the subtlety of the mature work and Meckenem's increased sophistication as a draftsman and engraver.

It is interesting to note that Meckenem originally forgot to engrave the letters I.N.R.I. in reverse, and had to rework the tablet on the crucifix.

229

THE MADONNA AND CHILD ON THE CRESCENT SUPPORTED BY FOUR ANGELS

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.197.198
262 x 182 mm.
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Paelinck Collection; A. Donnadieu, London, Lugt 724; Dukes of Arenberg, Bonn, Lugt 567; purchased from William Schab, 1951
B-19,762

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 172

A variation on the theme of the Apocalyptic Madonna (cf. cat. nos. 35, 45), this handsome engraving dates from the same period as The Life of the Virgin series (cat. nos. 216-27).

230

ST. PETER

Ca. 1490-1503
Lehrs IX.240.282
200 x 97 mm.

Provenance: Albertina duplicate, Lugt 5g; purchased from Charles Sessler
B-2685

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 237; M. Lehrs, "Über einige verschollenen Werke Hans Holbeins des Aelteren," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, IV, 1891, p. 368; Curt Glaser, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 166; *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, Augsburg, 1965 (exhibition catalogue), no. 207

This engraving is from a series of 14 prints (Christ, Mary, and the Twelve Apostles; Lehrs 280-93) from Meckenem's last phase. Each of the twelve Apostles appears in a deeply shaded niche. As early as 1891, Lehrs suggested that this Meckenem series was based on the work of Hans Holbein the Elder. He compared the figures with figures in Holbein's *Hohenburger Altarpiece* of 1509, but it is more likely that the Meckenems reproduce Holbein drawings which have not been preserved. Pieper feels that the engravings were created by Meckenem independent of Holbein. Comparison of the Apostle series with Holbein's paintings has persuaded the present writer, however, that a definite connection exists between the two artists.[1]

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[1] *Compare especially Holbein's* Death of the Virgin *in Basel, from the high altar of the Dominican Church in Frankfurt, dated 1501 (reproduced in Lieb und Stange,* Holbein der Ältere, *pl. 63).*

231

THE DEATH OF LUCRETIA

Ca. 1500-1503
Lehrs IX.406.516
270 x 183 (including inscription)
Watermark: Hand with flower, Lehrs 10

Provenance: Purchased from C. A. Stonehill, 1938
B-2720

References: Lehrs, "Der deutsche und niederländische Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts in den kleineren Sammlungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV, 1892, p. 139; Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 381

Lucretia was a Roman lady renowned for her beauty and virtue. While her husband and father were away from Rome, Lucretia was molested by Sextus Tarquinius. She could not bear the shame and stabbed herself to death. Her family swore vengenance and her husband's cousin, Lucius Junius Brutus, eventually drove the Tarquins out of Rome (traditional date, 509 B.C.)

In Meckenem's engraving, the rape of Lucretia occurs in the bedroom in the upper left corner. Through the window in the background, Lucretia greets her returning father and informs him of the dishonor that was done to her. In the foreground Lucretia falls on a sword and drops to the floor. At the right, her father and brother grieve and swear an oath of revenge. The moralistic Latin inscription reads:

> Pro vere Lucretie pudor est decus in muliere
> Quo malo convulso fetet pro minime grato
>
> Through Lucretia's example, modesty is woman's ornament
> To what end does the wicked ravish for such small gain

Lehrs considered this engraving one of Meckenem's very last works. The style and costumes are certainly in accord with his latest manner. The introduction of a classical subject is without precedent in fifteenth-century engraving of the North, and points to the new Renaissance concern for themes from antique sources. Lehrs withdrew his original idea that the present engraving is a copy of a lost work by Master PW of Cologne.[1]

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[1] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VII, pp. 262-63.*

232

THE DANCE AT THE COURT OF HEROD

Ca. 1500
Lehrs IX.297.367, second state
214 x 316 mm.

Provenance: Andreas Boerner, Leipzig, Lugt 68; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2693

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 300; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 213; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 30; Henry Meier, "Some Israhel van Meckenem Problems," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXVII, 1940, pp. 28-35

Meckenem takes advantage of the story of the beheading of St. John the Baptist (see cat. no. 195) to present a patrician social event. In the upper left, John has been decapitated and at the right Salome presents the severed head at the banquet table of Herod and Herodias. The foreground, however, is occupied by Herod's guests, elegant couples who dance a polonaise, oblivious to the grisly events of the background. In the middle of the hall is a tall console on which three performers make music. Most of the women wear the hennin, a tall peaked hat which had its origin at the court of Burgundy but spread throughout central Europe in the second half of the century. Although some of the figures wear long pointed shoes (*Schnabelschuhe*), others wear the broad-toed slippers which did not become fashionable in Germany until the end of the fifteenth century. The three performers wear quatrefoil badges as signs of their office as public musicians. A sixteenth-century piper's badge of this type is preserved in the town hall of Münster,[1] a city close to Bocholt. Geisberg has concluded that the dance portrayed here is a real event (similar to cat. no. 152) which Meckenem observed at first hand in Münster. Geisberg also found documentary evidence that the civic band of Münster consisted of three players until the year 1605, when a fourth musician was added.[2] Geisberg's theory that our engraving records a real scene is speculative. Also dubious is his identification of the sour-faced figure leaning on the bench at the extreme left as a self-portrait of Meckenem.

The copper plate of this engraving was eventually cropped in two. Meier[3] reports having seen two different impressions printed from the left half of the plate. One such impression was formerly in the Firmin-Didot Collection in Paris.

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[1] *Reproduced in* Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, *I, Column 220, fig. 4.*

[2] *Max Geisberg,* Das alte Ratssilber *(Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Münster), III, 1927, pp. 287-330.*

[3] *Henry Meier, "Some Israhel van Meckenem Problems," pp. 33-35.*

233-243

SCENES OF DAILY LIFE, CA. 1495-1503

Toward the end of his career, Meckenem produced a series of twelve engravings of pleasant genre subjects, each containing a male and female figure engaged in everyday pursuits. Six of the prints (cat. nos. 233-38) show the figures in abstract spaces, isolated against the darkly shaded backgrounds which are typical of Meckenem's late work. Banderoles fill the spaces above the figures (except in no. 238 where the curving tail of the demon performs the same space-filling function). In the remaining six prints of this series (of which the National Gallery owns all but one, cat. nos. 238-43), the scenes are set in charming domestic interiors. Because of Meckenem's careful observation of furniture, household appurtenances, and musical instruments, the prints are valuable documents for the cultural history of the late fifteenth century in northern Germany.[1]

Originally, Lehrs, Geisberg, and Warburg thought that Meckenem copied these twelve engravings from a lost series by Master PW of Cologne.[2] Later, however, Lehrs[3] and Geisberg[4] decided that the Meckenem prints were conceived independently. Now they are universally accepted as among Meckenem's most pleasing original works.

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[1] *H. Kohlhaussen, "Israhel van Meckenem als Schilderer niederrheinisch-westfälischen Lebens, "Meckenem Anniversary Catalogue, pp. 30-36.*

[2] *M. Geisberg,* Der Meister der Berliner Passion und Israhel van Meckenem, *pp. 128-31; Geisberg,* Verzeichnis, *p. 18, and nos. 401-12; Warburg,* Meckenem, *p. 67ff.*

[3] *Lehrs,* Kritischer Katalog, *VII, pp. 262-63.*

[4] *M. Geisberg, "Israhel van Meckenem,"* The Print Collector's Quarterly, *XVII, 1930, pp. 236-37.*

233

THE CHURCHGOERS

Lehrs IX.389.499
163 x 110 mm.
Watermark: Ewer

Provenance: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden, Lugt 971; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2711

234

THE FALCONER AND NOBLE LADY

Lehrs IX.390.500
163 x 111 mm.

Provenance: W. Koller, Vienna, Lugt 2632; A. Freiherr von Lanna, Prague, Lugt 2773; Gustav van Rath, Krefeld, Lugt 2772; purchased from William Schab, 1951
B-19,136

235

THE KNIGHT AND THE LADY

Lehrs IX.391.501
162 x 110 mm.

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig (von Passavant-Gontard sale), May 13, 1929, no. 709; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2712

236

THE DISSIMILAR COUPLE

Lehrs IX.392.502
159 x 107 mm.

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig (von Passavant-Gontard sale), May 13, 1929, no. 706; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2713

According to Lehrs, this engraving was copied in reverse in a woodcut of a Spanish edition of Boccaccio published in Salamanca in 1497, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the Meckenem genre series.

237

THE JUGGLER AND THE WOMAN

Lehrs IX.393.503
159 x 108 mm.
Watermark: Shield with three fleurs-de-lis, crowned with flowers, Lehrs 41; Briquet 1742

Provenance: A. Morrison, London, Lugt 151; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1930
B-2714

238

THE ANGRY WIFE

Lehrs IX.394.504
159 x 109 mm.
Watermark: Flower on a crossed stem, Lehrs 2

Provenance: Purchased 1937
B-2715

239

THE LUTE PLAYER AND THE HARPIST

Lehrs IX.394.505, pl. 280, no. 674, first state
159 x 108 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,631

240

THE LUTE PLAYER AND THE SINGER

Lehrs IX.396.506, first state
159 x 108 mm.
Watermark: Shield with two fleurs-de-lis and two fish, Lehrs 35

Provenance: Kunsthalle, Hamburg duplicate, Lugt 1233; E. Trautscholdt, Düsseldorf; purchased from William Schab, 1951
B-19,137

241

THE ORGAN PLAYER AND HIS WIFE

Lehrs IX.397.507, first state
159 x 109 mm.
Watermark: Flower on a crossed stem, Lehrs 2

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1931
B-2716

242

COUPLE SEATED ON A BED

Lehrs IX.398.508, second state
160 x 109 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1946
B-13,652

243

THE VISIT TO THE SPINNER

Lehrs IX.399.509
161 x 110 mm.
Watermark: Ewer with cross, Lehrs 13; Briquet 12.497

Provenance: Waldburg-Wolfegg Collection, Lugt 2542
B-2717

244

DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF ISRAHEL VAN MECKENEM AND HIS WIFE IDA

Ca. 1490 (?)
Lehrs IX.1.1, first state
129 x 174 mm. (including inscription)
Watermark: Crowned shield with two fleurs-de-lis and two fish, Lehrs 35
Repaired tear at upper left in Meckenem's cap

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig (von Passavant-Gontard sale), May 13, 1929, no. 705; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2654

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 1; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 212; Warburg, *Meckenem*, p. 67; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 112

Meckenem's double portrait of himself and his wife Ida is the first engraving in the history of graphic art which is undisputably a portrait of a known personality. It is, as well, the earliest engraved self-portrait. The vigorously three-dimensional busts stand out against the brocade pattern of the background. Israhel's self-portrait was hardly intended to be flattering; it portrays with honesty the homely provincial artisan and his practical wife. Their features are plain and unrefined, and their faces—especially Israhel's—display a certain lethargy. Furthermore, Israhel appears to be attired in his everyday working clothes. The Latin inscription reads: "Figuratio facierum Israhelis et Ide eius uxoris" (The portrait of Israhel and Ida his wife).

Meckenem's famous self-portrait engraving, although it has no precedent in graphic art, closely resembles a painting of a married couple dated 1479 in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich (reproduced opp. cat. no. 244). Buchner[1] assigned the painting to the Swabian school and Stange[2] has attributed it to the Ulm painter Hans Schüchlin. In the painting, the man and wife are set in the immediate foreground against a flat red background. The line of the man's shoulder overlaps his wife's figure just as the contour of Israhel's shoulder overlaps the form of Ida. In the Meckenem the male appears on the left and the female on the right, reversing the direction of the painting.

There is no documentary evidence linking the painting and the engraving. Indeed, it would be difficult to explain how Israhel could have known the painting, since by 1479 he had probably returned to North Germany from his South German sojourn. There can be little doubt of the Swabian origin of the painting, which is stylistically close to the Schüchlin workshop in Ulm. Also, the headdress of the woman is characteristic of Swabian costume and never appears in North German art.[3] Yet, the facial structure and features of the figures in the painting appear to the present writer to resemble so closely the features of Israhel and Ida that it seems possible that the painting served as Israhel's model. Naturally, he modified the faces somewhat to make them into accurate likenesses, though some of the facial features of the figures in the painting are retained: the large blunt nose and thin bow-shaped upper lip and drooping lower lip of the male, and the full round face of the female. The line of the nose curves into the eyebrow-line in exactly the same manner in both female portraits. The simple solution of the double portrait composition with a neutral background, and the placement of the figures close to each other in the front plane occurs in these two works and nowhere else in fifteenth-century portraiture. Our tentative argument is that the painted portrait (or one extremely like it) was somehow known to Meckenem and inspired him to create an engraved portrait along the same lines. The connection of the engraving and the Munich painting is by no means definite, and our inability to explain how Meckenem could have known the portrait casts some doubts on our hypothesis. Hopefully, the juxtaposition of these two portraits will give rise to further discussion and lead to a satisfactory explanation.

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1. *Ernst Buchner*, Das Deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit, *Berlin, 1953, p. 176, no. 199.*
2. *Stange*, Deutsche Malerei der Gotik, *VIII, p. 16, pl. 24.*
3. *I am indebted to Dr. Rainer Rückert, Oberkonservator of the Bavarian National Museum, for his opinion that the painting could not have been produced in North Germany.*

245

ORNAMENT PANEL WITH TWO LOVERS

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.460.619
164 x 242 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2725

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 471; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 29; R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 8

Like all goldsmith-engravers, Meckenem made a variety of ornament prints which were intended as models for other goldsmiths and silversmiths. This charming and imaginative vine ornament is dominated by an amorous couple, suggesting that the design may be a pattern for a hope chest or other box connected with engagement or marriage. The flowering vine is also populated with birds, dogs, and naked wild men and women.

246

CIRCULAR ORNAMENT WITH MUSICIANS PLAYING NEAR A WELL

Ca. 1480-1500
Lehrs IX.401.511, second state
Diameter: 174 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, Lehrs 24

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig (von Passavant-Gontard sale), May 13, 1929, no. 711; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2718

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 472; Warburg, *Meckenem*, p. 4

This ornament print—probably a design for the lid of a circular box—is difficult to place in Meckenem's chronology. Although the vine itself and the densely hatched ground accord with Meckenem's mature ornament prints (cf. cat. no. 245), the little scene in the center is borrowed from Master E.S. (L. 203), while a number of the flowers in the ornamental border are reminiscent of flowers by the Master of the Berlin Passion. Geisberg dated this print about 1476 and claimed that it was one of the latest Meckenem copies after E.S.

247

ORNAMENT WITH MORRIS DANCERS

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.457.617, first state
114 x 265 mm.
Watermark: High crown

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1947
B-14,231

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 465; Geisberg, *Geschichte*, p. 212; Warburg, *Meckenem*, pl. 28; P. M. Halm, *Erasmus Grasser*, Augsburg, 1928, pp. 131-147

The morris (or Moorish) dance originated in Spain in the middle ages and was symbolic of the victory of the Christians over the Moors. The grotesque dance, characterized by excessive gyrations, spread throughout Europe in the late middle ages. In England it became associated with the dance around the maypole. Because the capering dancers often worked themselves into a frenzy, they were sometimes considered fools and were consequently shown wearing jesters' costumes. The most famous morris dancers in art are the sculptures of 1480 by Erasmus Grasser, originally in the Munich town hall but now in the Stadtmuseum.[1]

In Meckenem's engraving, six male dancers cavort to the music of a pipe and drum in competition for the attention of a flirtatious female. A jester stands at the base of the thorny vine entranced by her obvious charms. Meckenem's message is that men make fools of themselves over women. The power of women was not an uncommon subject in fifteenth-century engraving (cf. cat. no. 206) and one early master is actually called The Master of the Power of Women after his most important print, showing a woman on horseback making fools of men (Lehrs I.163.16).[2]

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[1] *Reproduced in P. M. Halm*, Erasmus Grasser, *Augsburg, 1928, pls. 1-11.*

[2] *Reproduced in Max Geisberg*, Die Anfänge des deutschen Kupferstichs und der Meister E.S., *Leipzig, 1909, pl. 9 (as Master of 1462).*

248

ORNAMENT WITH TREE OF JESSE

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.459.618, first state
115 x 269 mm.
Watermark: Flower on a stem, Lehrs 1

Provenance: C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Auction 162,
Nov. 5, 1929, no. 438; purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2724

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 466

Jesse was the father of King David and is portrayed only in connection with his part in the genealogical tree of Christ. Jesse once dreamed that he foresaw the entire family tree of his son, David, culminating in the birth of the Messiah. The kings of Israel appeared on the tree as Christ's ancestors. In Meckenem's engraving, Jesse is asleep while his dream materializes on the vine which springs from his body. The vine curves into thirteen loops, each loop containing one of Christ's ancestors. King David, seen playing the harp, is the ancestor closest to Jesse. Above we see the Virgin and Child, showing Christ's direct lineage from the House of David.

The figures of the ancestors are related to the lively types in the ornament prints of Meckenem's father, the Master of the Berlin Passion.[1]

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[1] *Reproduced in Hollstein, XII, pp. 108-109.*

249

ORNAMENT WITH FLOWER AND EIGHT WILD FOLK

Ca. 1490-1500
Lehrs IX.464.624, second state
200 x 131 mm.
Watermark: Gothic P with flower, close to Lehrs 21, 22

Provenance: Purchased from Charles Sessler, 1929
B-2728

References: Geisberg, *Verzeichnis*, no. 475; R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 7; R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 148-49, fig. 38

The folklore concerning wild men and women is found under cat. nos. 90-97. One of the characteristics attributed to wild men was uncommon sexual appetite and unabashed natural behavior. The present engraving is an allegory on the attainment of pleasure. Men and women are seen climbing up to a flower toward the blossom which symbolizes consummation. Some of the figures assist each other in the climb, while others batter their rivals to prevent their ascent. The flower, filled with honey, symbolizes the goal of man's desires, sensual pleasure.

The Latin inscription on the banderoles reads:

> Flore pulchro nobili apes mella colligunt
> Ex hoc vermes frivoli virus forte hauriunt
>
> The noble bees draw honey from the beautiful flower
> From this one, however, the frivolous vermin extract a stronger potion

The blossom and its ornamental petals are derived from an engraving by Master E.S., the *New Year's Greeting* (L.50).

UNKNOWN MASTERS

The final twelve engravings in this catalogue can not be convincingly attributed to any of the known personalities of the fifteenth century. Though a number of these prints appear in volume IV of the Lehrs catalogue, they are there described as the work of unknown hands. Neither the styles nor the techniques of these engravings link them to any of the known personalities, monogrammists or anonymous masters. Some of the prints (cat. nos. 256, 257) have not been published before.

250

GOTHIC LETTER d

South German (?), ca. 1480-1500
Lehrs IV.306.147
214 x 82 mm., trimmed closely on all sides; restored with new paper in upper right corner

Provenance: Sternberg-Manderscheid Collection; Friedrich August II of Saxony, Lugt 971; purchased from Richard Zinser, 1948
B-15,172

References: Jaro Springer, *Gothic Alphabets*, London, 1897, pp. 6-7, pl. XX; Max Lehrs, "Über gotische Alphabete," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, 1899, pp. 374-75; Otto Schmitt, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, Stuttgart, 1937, p. 408

This "d" is one of a series of 23 prints, each representing a letter of the alphabet, composed from elements of late-Gothic architecture. The complete set survives only in the museum in Bologna, and was first brought to light in 1888.[1] The engravings in this series are imbued with the solemnity of cathedral architecture, very different from the playful Gothic alphabet of Master E.S. (cat. no. 15). The construction of the letters gives the appearance of being firm and correct; only the slightest violence is done to the architectural forms in adapting them to the shapes of the letters. The sure drawing suggests a hand practiced in the use of the burin and conversant with the architectural designs of Gothic artisans.

Because of its careful parallel hatching and its sobriety of temper, Springer thought this alphabet was Netherlandish work, close to the Antwerp Master W with the key.[2] We, however, find Master W's engravings of Gothic detail somewhat more exuberant and organic than the staid letters of this series. Lehrs claims that the watermark of the triple mountain with a cross (Briquet 11.922), found on eight of the prints, is characteristically Bavarian, suggesting that the architectural alphabet is of South German origin.

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[1] *Max Lehrs, "Eine vergessene Kupferstichsammlung,"* Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, *XXIV, 1888, p. 16.*
[2] *Hollstein, XII, pp. 226-49.*

251

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH A PEAR

Lower Rhine (Cologne?), ca. 1440-60
Lehrs IV.243.43, unique
85 x 61 mm.
Hand colored red, orange, green, yellow, blue, flesh

Provenance: Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtbibliothek
B-3304

References: E. Sarnow and W. L. Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Kupferstiche im Besitze der Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt*, Strassburg, 1912, no. 13; *The First Century of Printmaking*, no. 58

The strong, broad contours, the total absence of hatching, and the flat application of color have led some scholars to consider this charming print a woodcut rather than an engraving. Lehrs has suggested that it is one of the very earliest engravings, done by a woodcutter who decided to explore the new medium. It is such an accomplished piece of work, however, that it is more likely a copy by a competent engraver of a woodcut which has not survived to our time.[1]

The print is unique. It was found pasted into the front cover of a manuscript in the Cathedral library of Frankfurt (no. 136).

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[1] *Several woodcuts of this type are reproduced in Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts; *see esp. nos. 158, 161, 162, 166.*

252

THE LAMENTATION

Lower Rhenish or Netherlandish, ca. 1470-80
Lehrs IV.220.15
79 x 59 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from H. Eisemann, 1949
B-15,883

References: Willshire, *Early Prints*, II, p. 67

Close in technical details to the early work of Israhel van Meckenem (cf. cat. nos. 154-61), this engraving also shows stylistic affinities to Master E.S. The figure of St. John is similar to the St. John in E.S.'s early *Crucifixion* (L.44). The characteristic inclination of the heads and the general compositional arrangement also recall the E.S. *Pieta* (L.33). The presence of a tiny monk at the lower right—in the place normally occupied by donors in Flemish panel paintings—suggests that this engraving was commissioned by a monastery or that it was executed by a monastic amateur.

Above the cross are the names of Jesus (ihs) and Mary (ma). The banderole which is crowded along the right margin reads: "O maria tua dolori ora p me" (Oh Mary of sorrows, pray for me).

Lehrs knew only one impression of this engraving, heavily colored, in the British Museum.

253

ST. MAURICE

Lower Rhenish, ca. 1480-90
Passavant II.235.167; unique
110 x 78 mm. (outer border)
Hand colored green, yellow, blue, light brown

Provenance: Marx Collection, Göttingen; Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, Klein-Oels, Lugt 2669; purchased from William Schab, 1949
B-15,884

References: H. Loedel, *Kleine Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, Cologne, 1857, pp. 6-7, pl. IV

St. Maurice was the commander of the Roman army's Theban Legion, which was composed entirely of Christians. In the year 286, the Emperor Maximian summoned Maurice and his troops to join the main body of the Roman army in the invasion of Gaul. Some of Maurice's companies were ordered by Maximian to take part in pagan rituals before going into battle. When the men refused, the emperor ordered that they be put to death a few at a time, so that the remainder would be forced to comply. To a man, Maurice and his troops stood steadfast, and all were murdered.

In German art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Maurice is usually shown as a Moor, probably as an indication of his connection with Thebes in Egypt, or because of an etymological association with his name (Moorish in German is "Maurisch"). St. Maurice normally wears armor and carries a banner with the insignia of the Cross. The armor indicates his military profession and the banner his undying devotion to his faith.

The informal style of drawing, the free, spontaneous modeling, and the slight proportions of the figure are reminiscent of the Master of the Housebook. The inscription in the border: "Sanctus Mauricius Bidde Godt Vor Uns" (St. Maurice, pray to God for us) is in a North German dialect which probably points to the Rhenish region between Mainz and Cologne. The remainder of the border is filled with the alphabet from A to Z, possibly an indication that the engraving was done by an apprentice or journeyman as a work sheet to display his competence.

On the verso there are traces of dried paste and faint offset lines of Gothic type, proof that this engraving was originally pasted in a book.

254

MADONNA AND CHILD

South German or Flemish, ca. 1460-80
Lehrs IV.239.35b
31 x 27 mm.
Hand colored green, yellow, red, blue on gold ground

Provenance: Public library, St. Petersburg; Martin Aufhäuser, Munich; purchased from Charles Stonehill, London, 1938
B-3302

References: W. L. Schreiber, *Holz- und Metallschnitte aus der öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg* (vol. 57 of P. Heitz, *Einblattdrücke des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*), Strassburg, 1925, no. 10

This Apocalyptic Madonna (see cat. no. 35) attended by two angels is a close copy of another engraving (L.VIII.238.35) which Lehrs attributes to a South German workshop. The bright coloring and gold ground indicate that the print was intended to rival manuscript illumination and was to be used as a book illustration. Schreiber erroneously describes the print as a niello.

255

MADONNA AND CHILD

South German, ca. 1450-70
Lehrs IV.237.34
27 x 22 mm.
Hand colored green, red

Provenance: T. O. Weigel, Leipzig; L. Rosenthal, Munich, cat. 90, 1892, no. 135; purchased from Martin Aufhäuser, 1939
B-3306

References: T. O. Weigel and A. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst*, II, Leipzig, 1866, p. 389, no. 463; M. Lehrs, *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindliches deutschen Kupferstiche des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Nuremberg, 1887, p. 60, no. 291

Like the preceding catalogue number, this engraving was intended to be pasted in a book. Only one other impression survives, a badly cropped example in the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

256

JOSEPH AND THE CHRIST CHILD

Ca. 1500 (?)
Undescribed
Diameter: 29 mm.
Hand colored red, green

Provenance: Martin Aufhäuser, Munich
B-3299

Joseph is often attired as a monk—though he never was one—and is frequently shown offering an apple to the Infant Jesus. In this engraving, the little Saviour is totally uninterested in the apple, which symbolizes earthly pleasures, but instead leads His foster-father down the path of virtue. The letters "ihus" are an abbreviation for "Jesus."

257

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH A BELL

Ca. 1450-60
Undescribed
Diameter: 40 mm.

Provenance: Purchased from Richard Zinser, 1947
B-14,050

The style of this anonymous roundel—with its midget-like figures, heavy contours, and angular drapery pattern—places it very close to the work of the Master of Bileam, especially to that master's small engravings in the Kunsthalle of Karlsruhe.[1] There is no consensus on the Bileam Master's place of activity and he is said to be French or Burgundian just as frequently as he is located in South Germany and the Upper Rhine region.[2]

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[1] *Reproduced in Hollstein, XII, pp. 10-12.*

[2] *A. Blum* (Les origines de la gravure, *Paris, 1927, pp. 74-75*), *Max Lehrs* (Kritischer Katalog, *I, 1908, pp. 327-36*), *and Anzelewsky* (*F. Lippmann*, Der Kupferstich, *7th ed., Berlin, 1963, p. 49*) *argue for a French origin. Geisberg* (Die Anfänge, *pp. 60-63;* Geschichte, *pp. 169-70*), *however, points to the Upper German dialect on a paste-print inscription of the Bileam Master's* Martyrdom of St. Catherine (*reproduced in Hollstein, XII, p. 17*). *The Thieme-Becker* Künstlerlexikon (*XXXVII, p. 48*) *lists the master as South German, as does E. Knab in* Die Grossen Primitiven, *p. 25.*

258

CHRIST AS THE MAN OF SORROWS

Flemish, ca. 1500
Lehrs IV.233.27, unique
Diameter: 39 mm.
Hand colored red, tan, violet, green, flesh; pasted into an initial "O" on an illuminated vellum sheet, torn from a book.

Provenance: Martin Aufhäuser, Munich
B-3305

References: L. Baer, *Frankfurter Bücherfreund*, XII, 1914, no. 372

This engraved roundel, still pasted onto a page from a late fifteenth-century manuscript prayer book, illustrates one important use to which early engravings were put. The tiny prints were colored by hand so that they would have the appearance of miniature paintings. Only the most sophisticated could perceive that these images were mass-produced engravings, and many of them may have passed as unique illuminations. Engravings of this type (together with woodcut illustrations) gradually replaced painted historiated initials and even large full-page images (see cat. nos. 18, 25-26, 28, 254-55).

Christ standing in the tomb with the instruments of the Passion neatly displayed in the background was commonly employed as a devotional image in late medieval art (cf. cat. nos. 157-58).[1] The subject provides a compendium of the events and implements of the Passion and was intended to arouse pity for Christ's suffering.[2]

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[1] *For an explanation of the arrayed symbols see Field,* Fifteenth Century Woodcuts, *no. 125.*

[2] *For the history and development of the Man of Sorrows motif see Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis,"* Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer, *1927, pp. 261-308; see also Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake,* The History of Our Lord, *II, London, 1864, pp. 360-71.*

259-260

TWO SCENES FROM A PASSION SERIES
NETHERLANDISH, CA. 1485-1500

Among the prints by unknown artists listed in the Lehrs catalogue is a series of six illustrations of the Passion (Lehrs IV.222.17-22), including the two engravings presented here. They are larger in format than any other Passion engravings of the fifteenth century. Because of their apparent technical relation to Schongauer, Lehrs attributed them to a South German workshop. He also suggested that their style resembles that of the Bavarian Master h w. We feel, however, that the connection with Schongauer and South Germany is superficial. The figures are lively and realistic, almost to the point of caricature, and the drawing of hands, feet, and facial details evidences a greater concern for observation of nature than is ever seen in Schongauer's work. Compared to Schongauer's rigorously structured compositions, the spatial organization of this man's work appears haphazard. The exaggerated facial types and the disorganized, somewhat crowded compositions recall the engravings illustrating the Bruges *Boccaccio* of 1476 (reproduced in Hollstein, XII, pp. 118-122) as well as the work of Master I.A.M. of Zwolle (cat. nos. 134-37). The treatment of the drapery—with its glistening surfaces and its stiff folds suggesting that it is made of metal rather than a soft, pliable fabric—can be compared to drapery by the Flemish Master FVB (cat. nos. 126, 129-32). Finally, the evidence of the watermarks also points to a Lower Rhenish or Netherlandish origin. Our *Betrayal* (cat. no. 259) has the watermark of the Catherine wheel with three flowers (Briquet 13.362), a mark found primarily on papers produced in France in the 1480's. *The Lamentation* (cat. no. 260) has the typically Lower Rhenish watermark of a pair of scales inscribed in a circle.

259

THE BETRAYAL

Lehrs IV.224.18
283 x 207 mm.
Watermark: St. Catherine's wheel with three flowers, Briquet 13.362

Provenance: Spencer Collection, Northwick Park; purchased from Charles Stonehill, 1938
B-2743

Similar in mood to *The Betrayal* by Master I.A.M. of Zwolle (cat. no. 135), this engraving also shows marked compositional similarities. The figures of the main scene are compressed in the foreground. The artist also makes use of the device of continuous narrative, combining successive events into one scene.

260

THE LAMENTATION

Lehrs IV.228.22, first state
285 x 206 mm.
Watermark: Scale in a circle, close to Lehrs 44

Provenance: Waldburg-Wolfegg Collection, Waldsee, Lugt 2542; purchased from A. Harlow, 1939
B-2744

In the foreground, Christ is laid on the ground on a winding cloth by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Directly below the cross, John gives comfort to the Virgin who reaches out to touch her Son. The composition, very much in the Netherlandish tradition, is similar to that of a *Lamentation* by a follower of Roger van der Weyden in the Mauritshuis[1] and to the Petrus Christus *Lamentations* in Brussels and New York.[2]

In the background we witness Christ's Resurrection and his visit to Limbo to free the sages and prophets of the pre-Christian era. Limbo is envisaged as a fortress protected by a league of demons. The scene recalls Schongauer's *Descent into Limbo* (cat. no. 61).

The copper plate of this engraving fell into the hands of Israhel van Meckenem who reworked it, adding his monogram as well as brocade patterns on several of the costumes. Only one other impression before reworking exists, in the Kunsthalle of Hamburg.

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[1] *Reproduced in Panofsky,* Early Netherlandish Painting, *pl. 219.*

[2] *Reproduced in Panofsky,* Early Netherlandish Painting, *pls. 250-51.*

261

THE BATTLE OF FORNOVO

Ca. 1495
409 x 629 mm.; unique
Printed on two sheets joined at center
Watermark: Column, close to Briquet 4386

Provenance: Purchased from William Schab, 1952
B-20,218

References: Elizabeth Mongan, "The Battle of Fornovo," *Prints,* ed. Carl Zigrosser, New York, 1962, pp. 253-68

The Battle of Fornovo occurred on July 16, 1495.[1] Troops under the French king, Charles VIII—including Swiss mercenaries as well as French officers and footsoldiers—were marching back to Paris from Naples, where Charles had successfully settled his claim to that Italian kingdom. Fearing the consequences of a French presence on Italian soil, Ferdinand of Spain formed a coalition against Charles. Pope Alexander VI, Emperor Maximilian, and the republics of Venice and Milan joined Ferdinand and planned to destroy the French army as it made its way back through Italy to France. When the French arrived at Fornovo on the Taro River, they encountered an army of Milanese and Venetians under the command of Francesco Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua. The Italian troops were bolstered by the so-called *Stradiotti,* mercenaries from Albania. Gonzaga quickly launched a three-pronged attack. The *Stradiotti* were supposed to close in from behind. The Albanians, however, proved to be more interested in booty than in waging war, and they attacked and looted the French baggage at the rear of the action, rather than executing Gonzaga's well-planned strategies. The French were thus able to escape with minimal casualties and to make their way back to France without further incident.

In our engraving, we see the Taro River extending across the entire length of the picture. On the far bank are the tents of the Italians and a large portion of the armies of Venice and Milan. The solid block of figures in the center of the scene are the Swiss infantry in battle formation, repelling the Italian attackers who emerge from the grove of trees at the left. In the lower right of the picture, the French knights led by Charles VIII do battle with Italian noblemen and footsoldiers. King Charles is in the middle of the action and can be identified by his crown and by the double cross of Jerusalem on his breastplate. At the lower left, the bearded *Stradiotti*, wearing high top hats, brandish scimitars as they fall upon the French baggage train.

It is known that artists were included in Charles VIII's entourage during the Italian campaign, and it is likely that one of them created this panoramic battle scene at Charles's request shortly after the actual event took place. As stiff and unsophisticated as the drawing may be, the details are realistically rendered and there is a sense of on-the-spot reportage. The sense of melee and the heat and action of battle are powerfully suggested.

Elizabeth Mongan[2] has pointed out that the drawing of the physiognomies and certain details of costume are similar to Lyon work of the 1490's. Our engraving is quite literally copied in a woodcut illustrating the edition of *La Mer des Histoires* published in Lyon by Claude Davost in 1506.[3] This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the engraving and reinforces the possibility that our engraver came from Lyon. Miss Mongan has speculated that the engraving was intended as an illustration for a book. The proposed book was probably never realized because of King Charles's early death in 1498.

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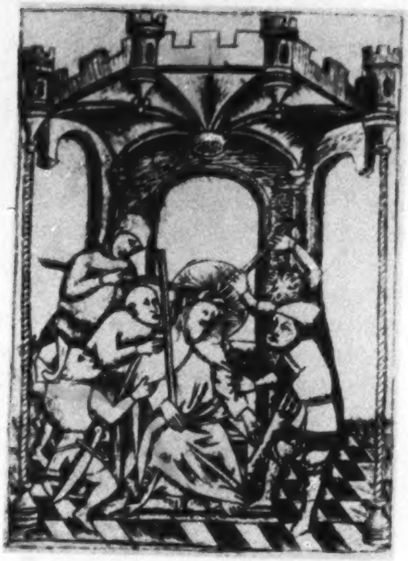
1. Elizabeth Mongan has thoroughly described this engraving and the historical event it depicts. Our discussion is merely a resumé of her article.

2. Mongan, "The Battle of Fornovo," p. 266.

3. Reproduced in Mongan, "The Battle of Fornovo," p. 267.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS



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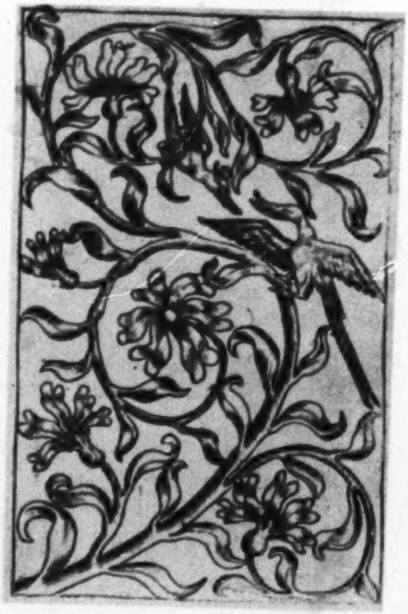

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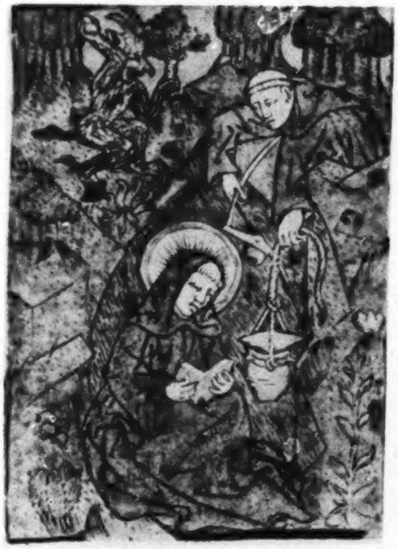

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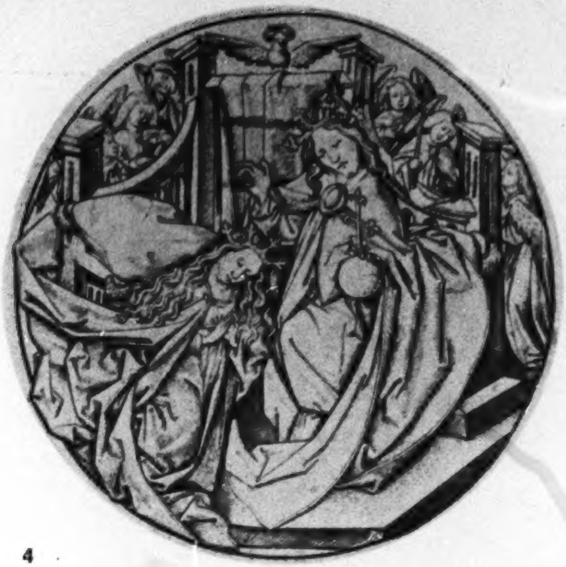

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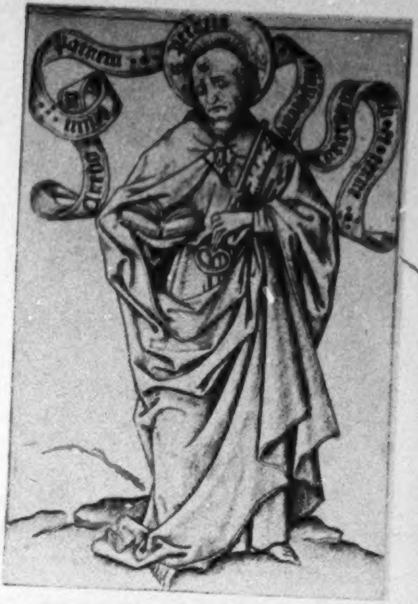

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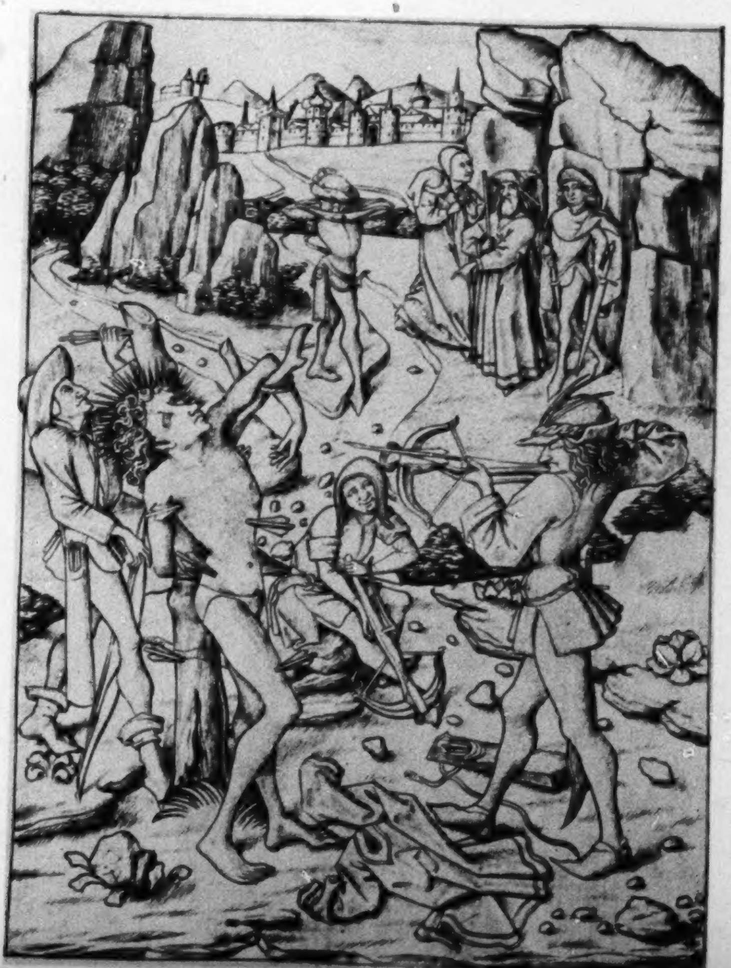

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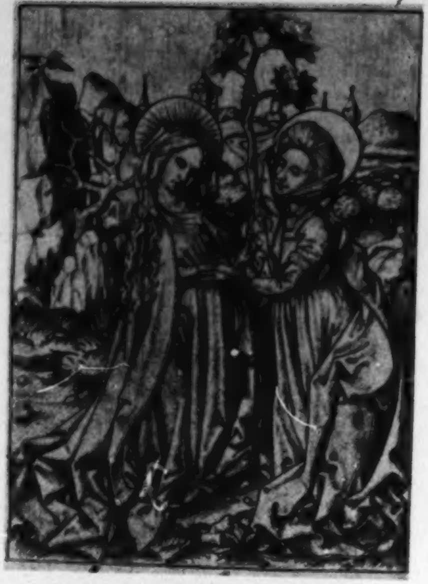

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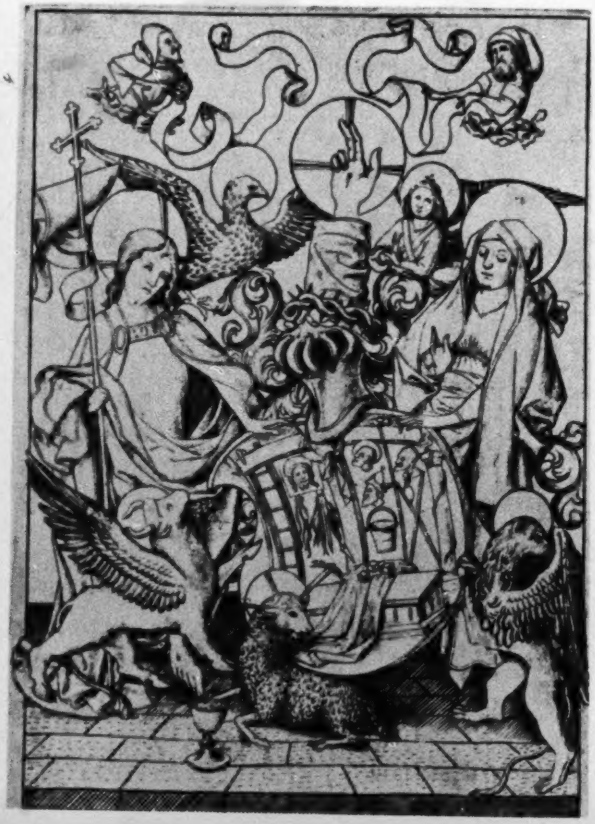

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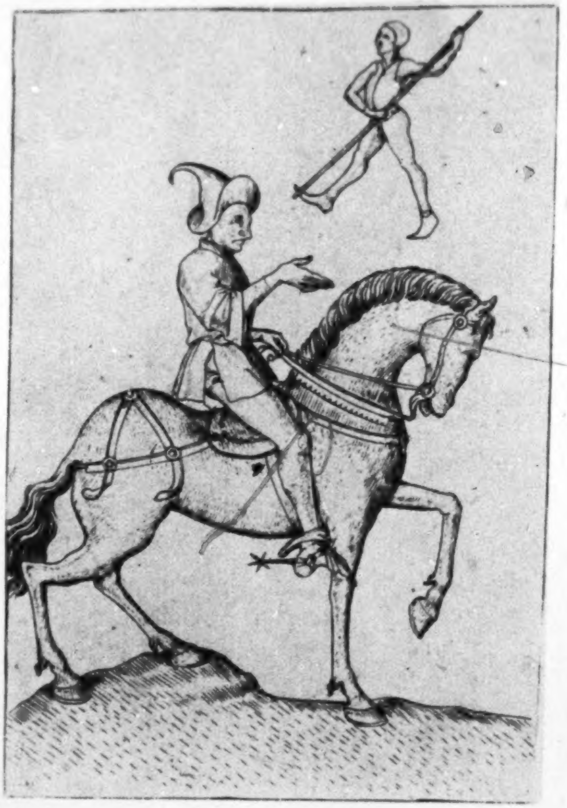

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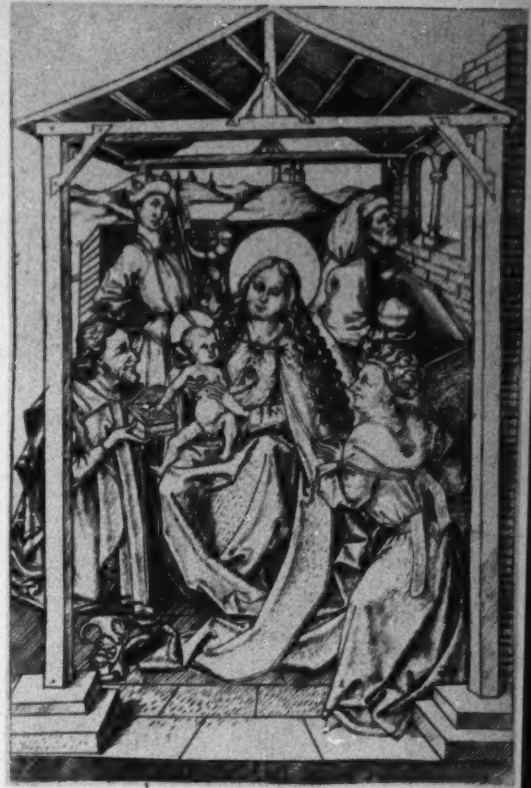

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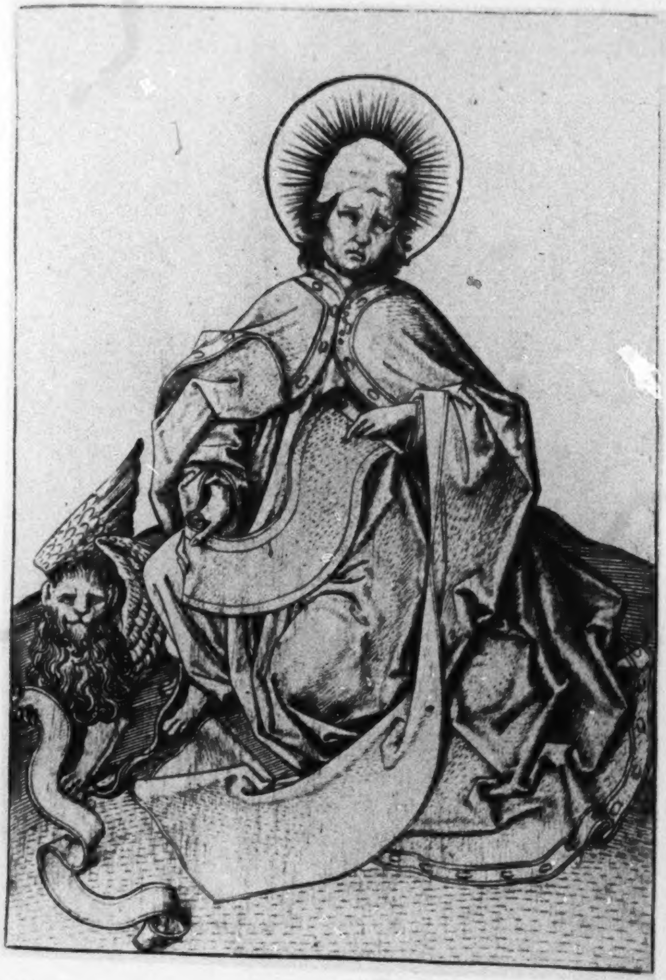

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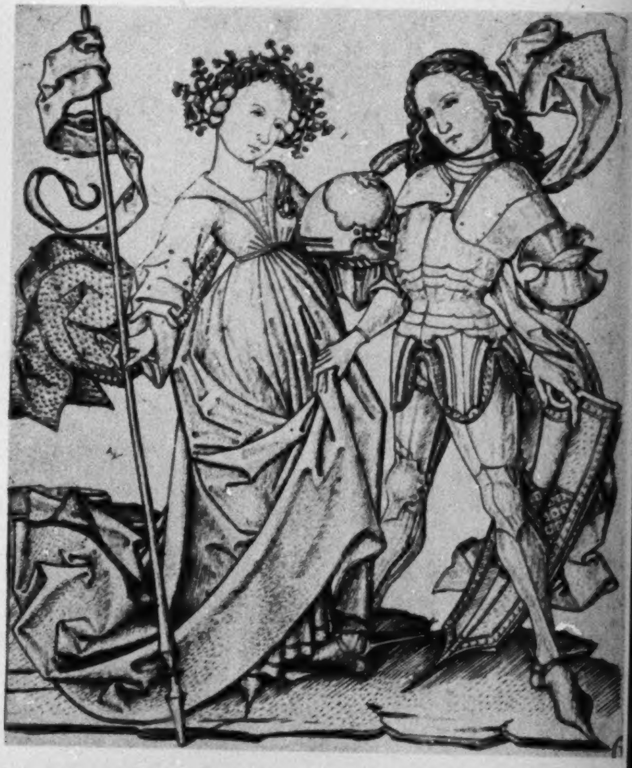

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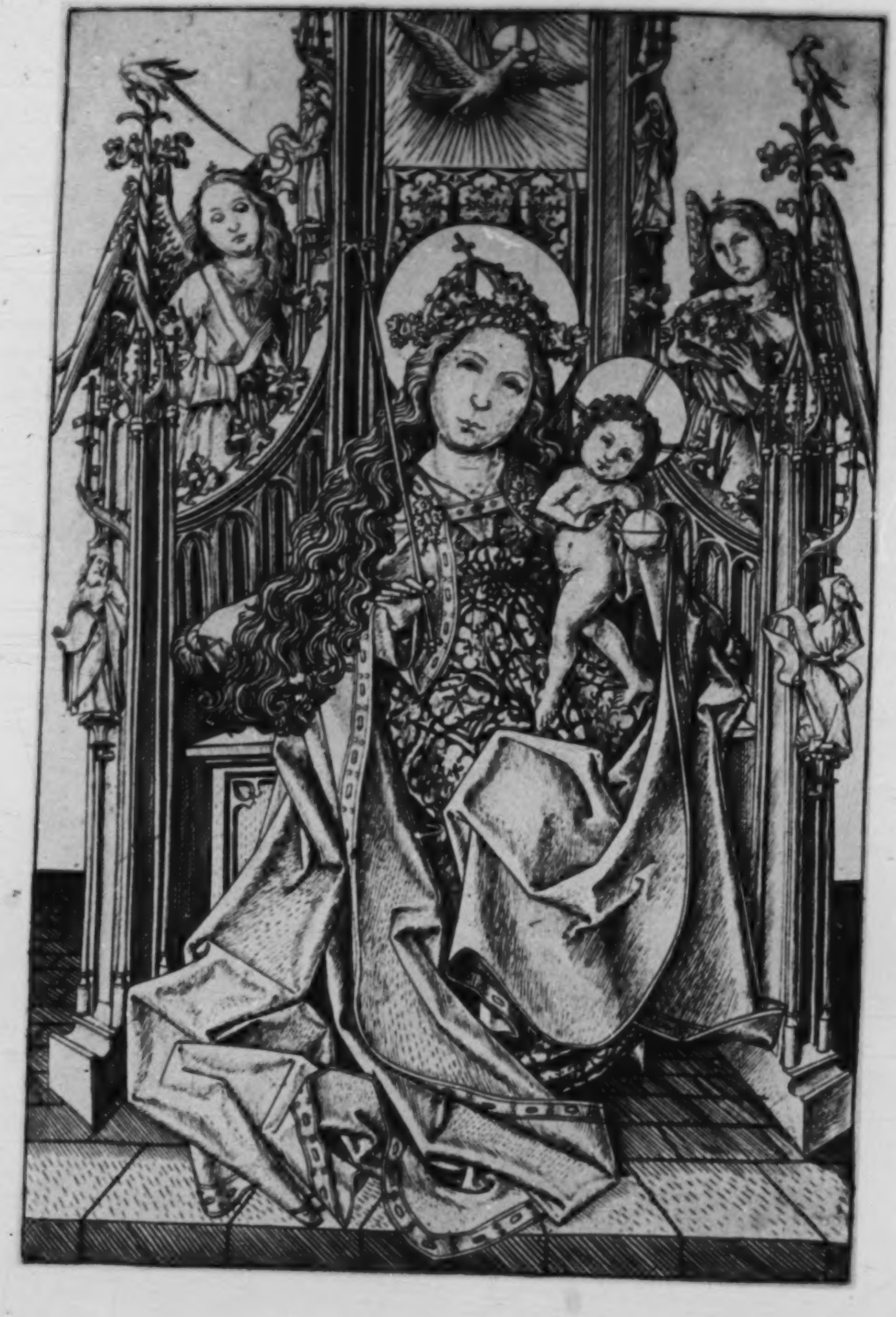

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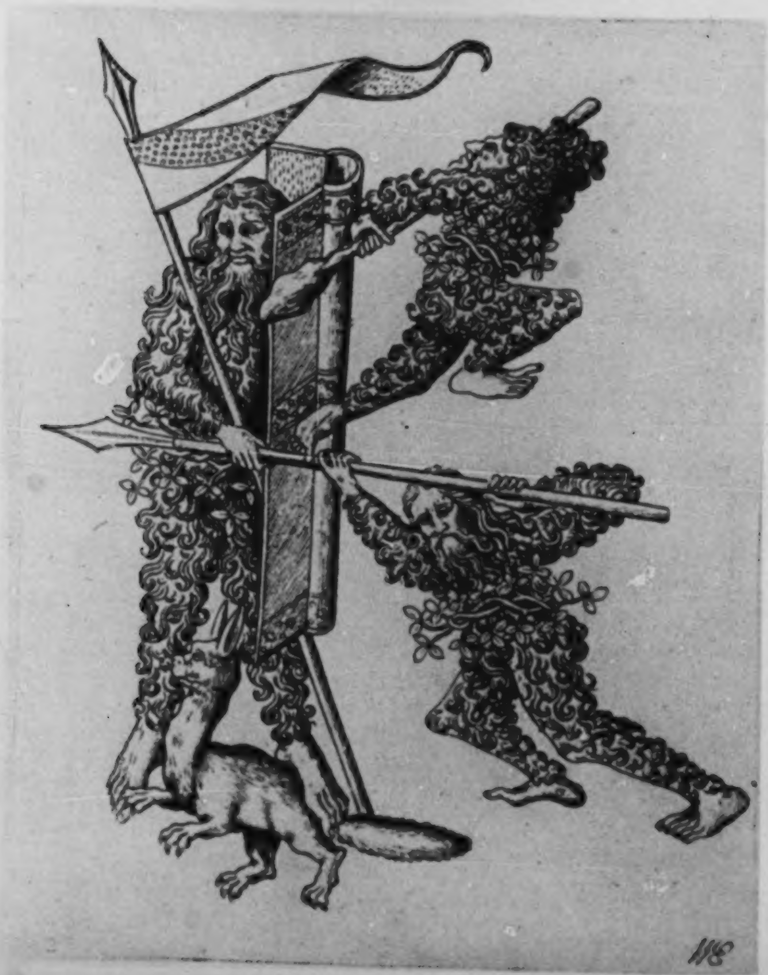

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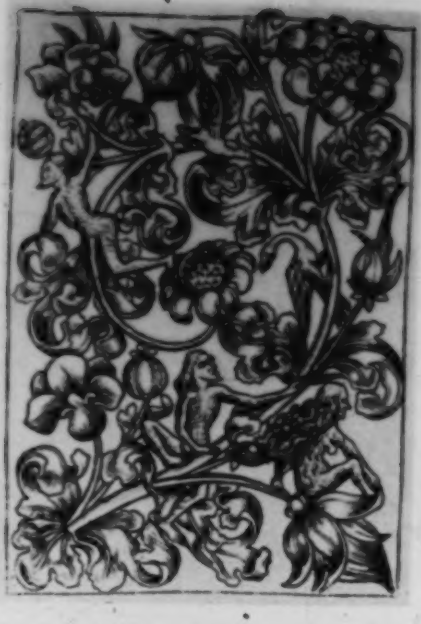

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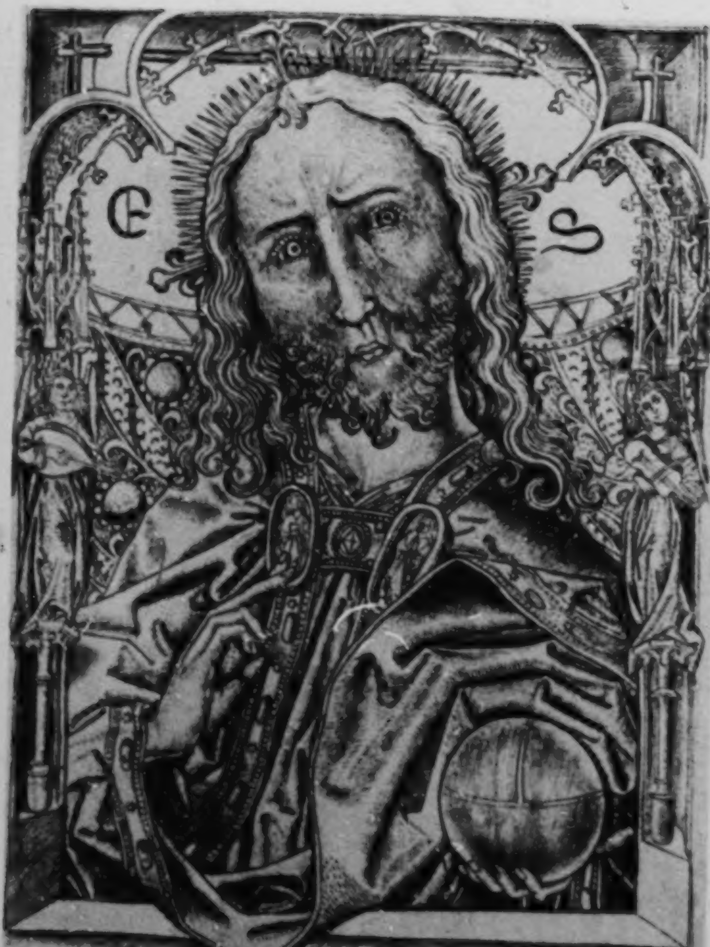

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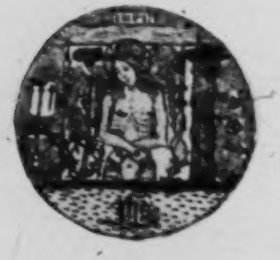

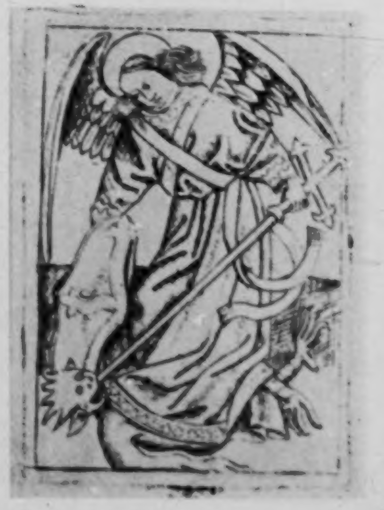

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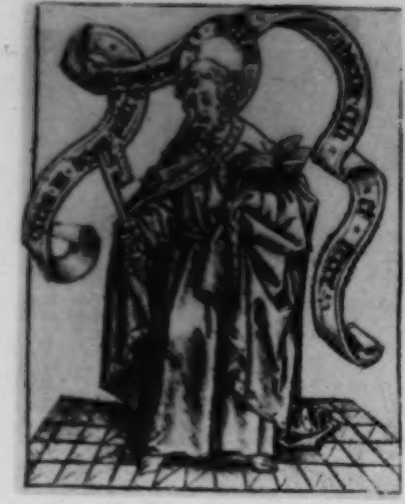

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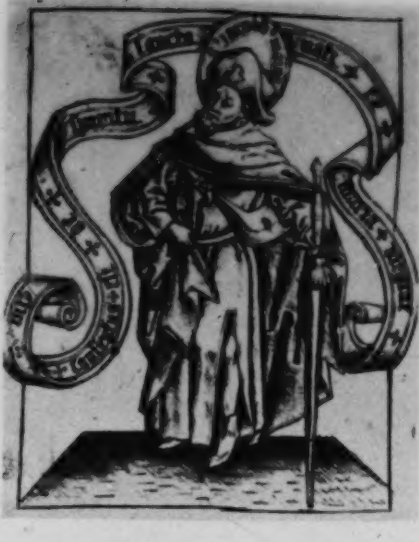

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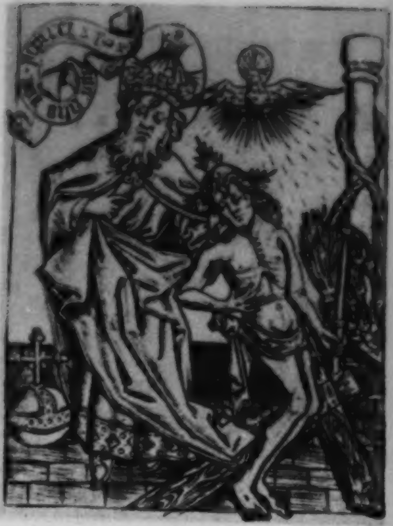

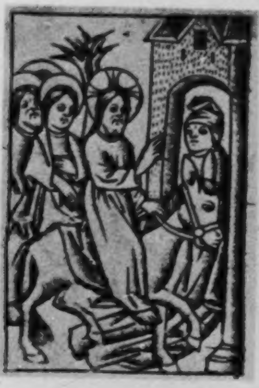

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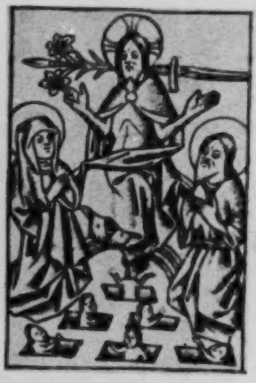

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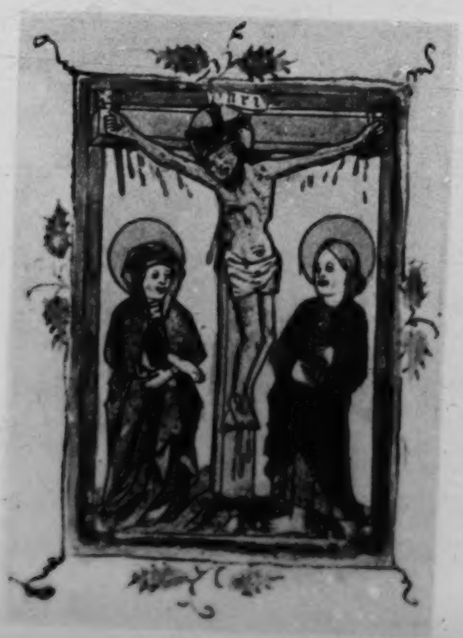

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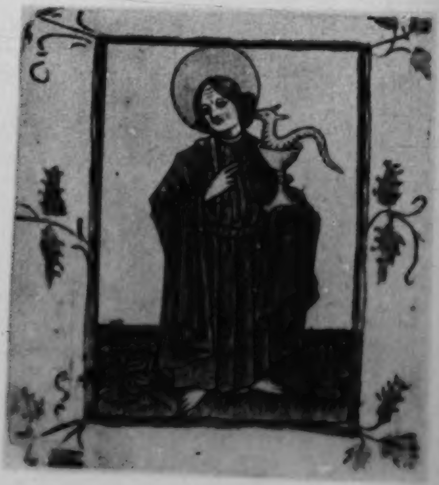

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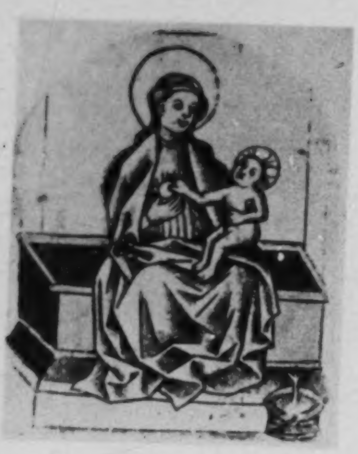

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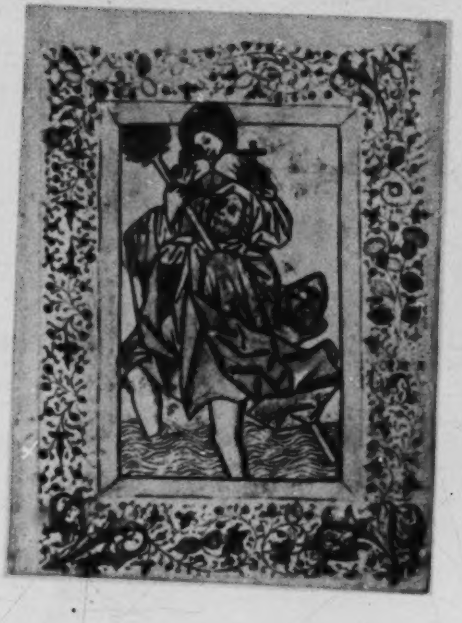

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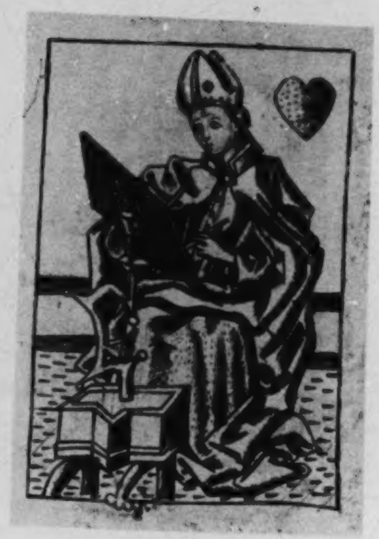

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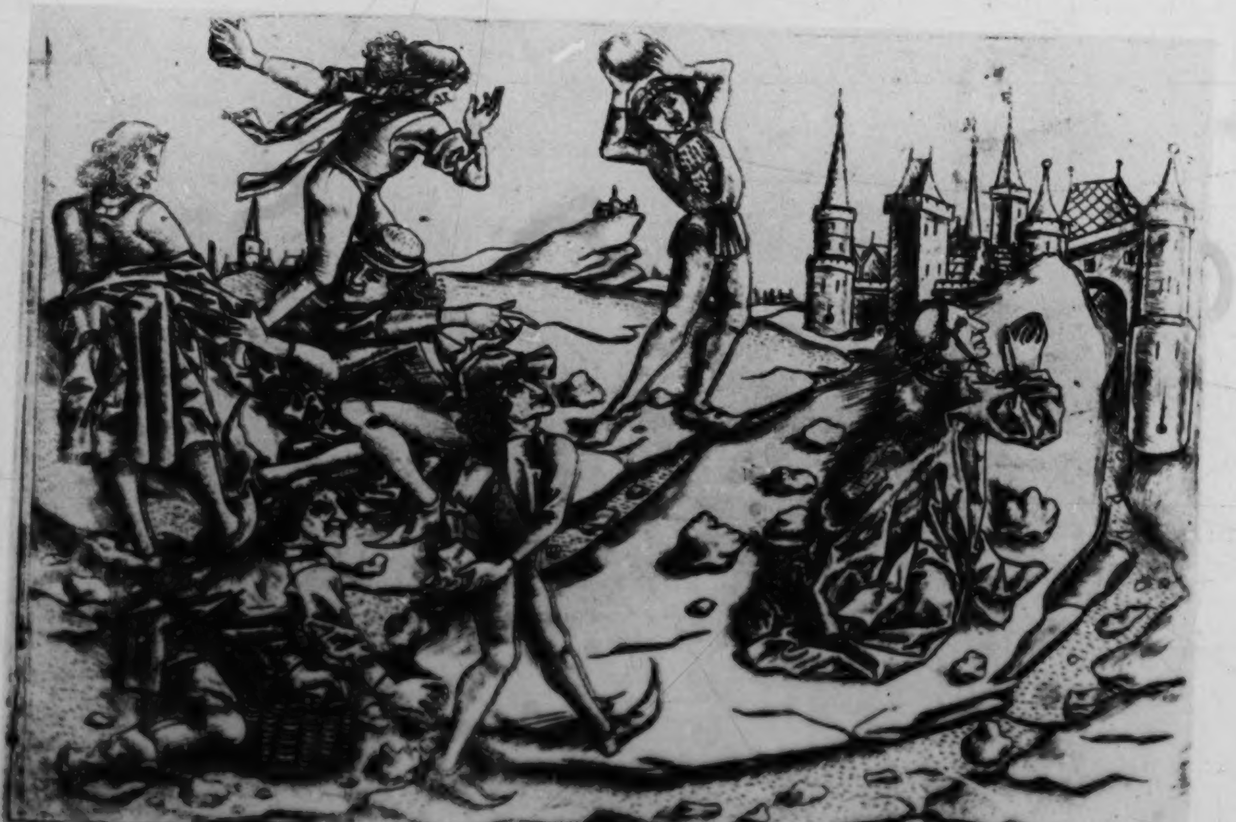

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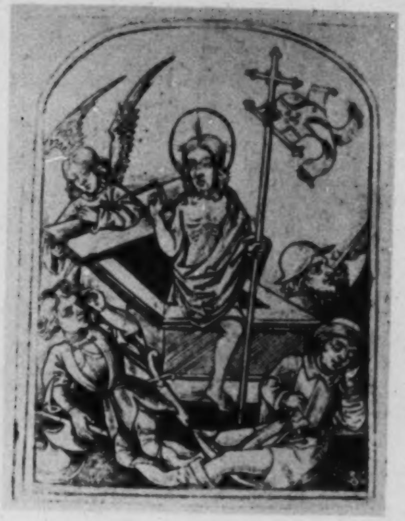

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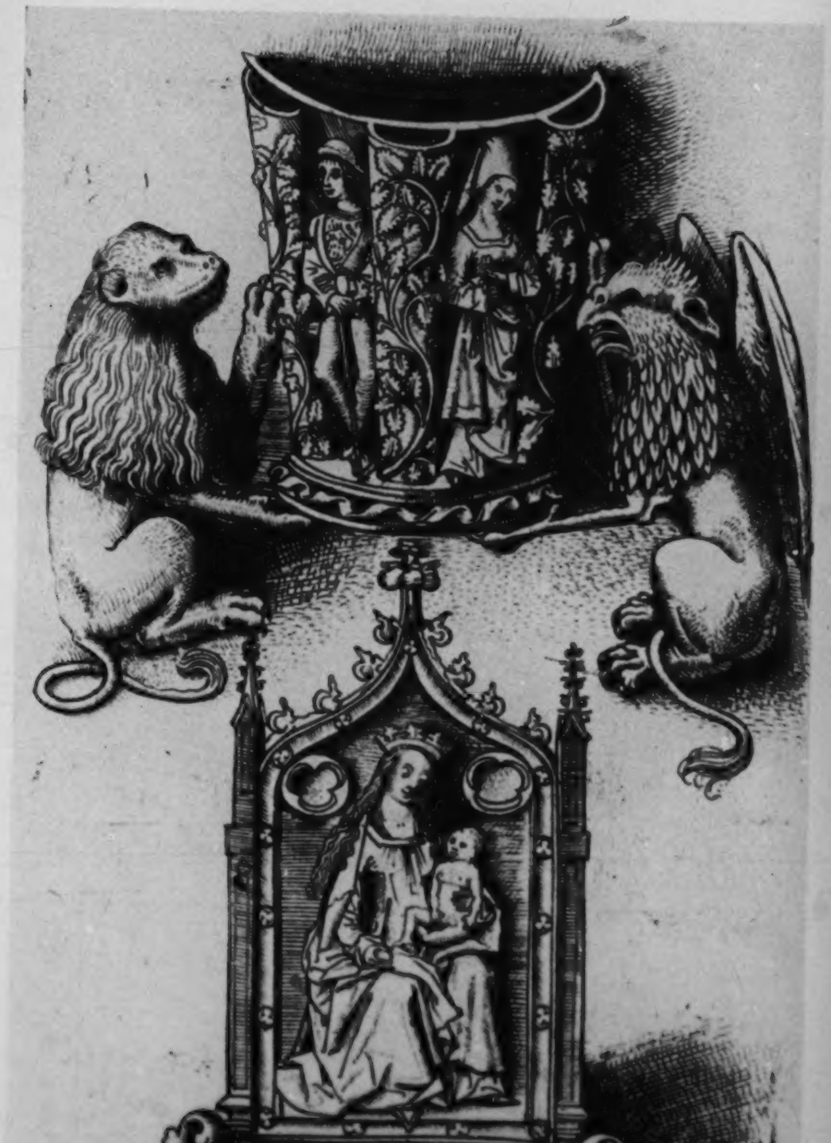

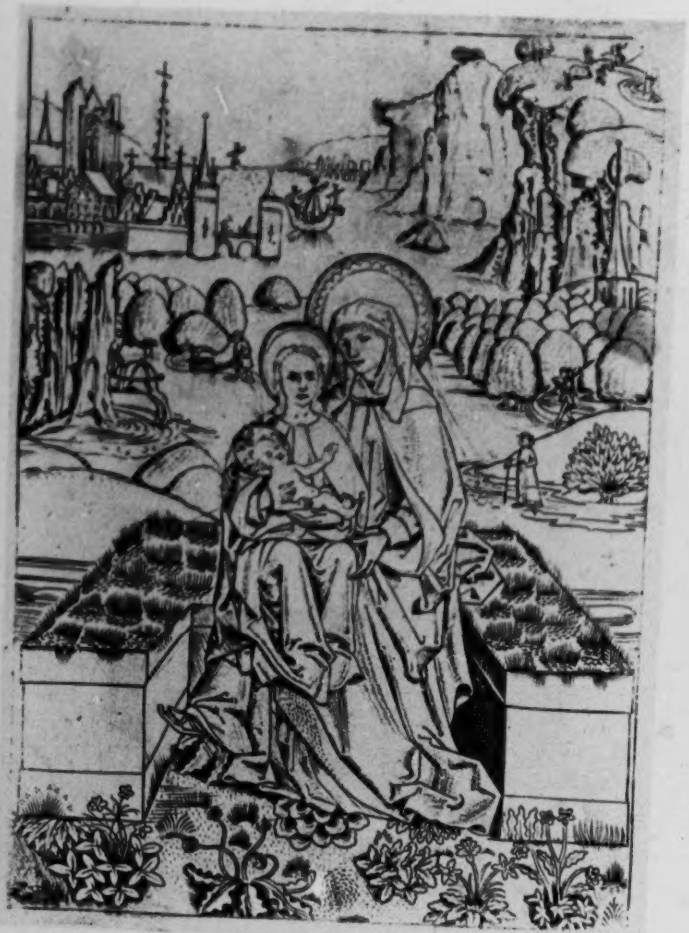

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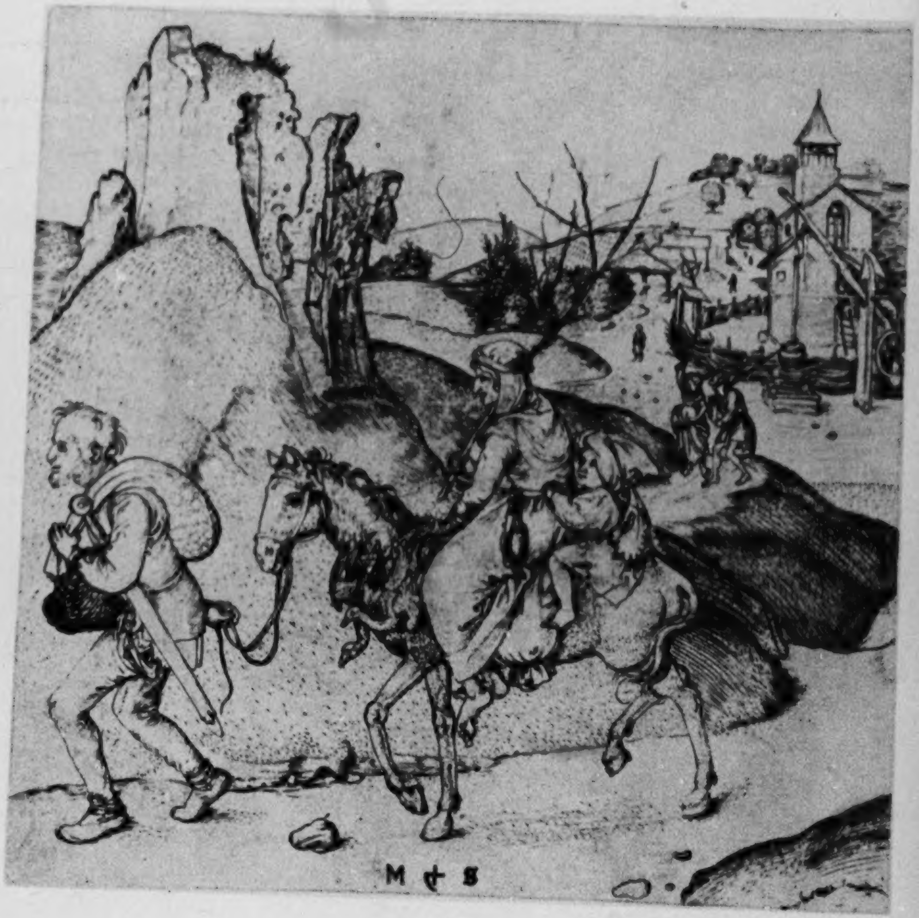

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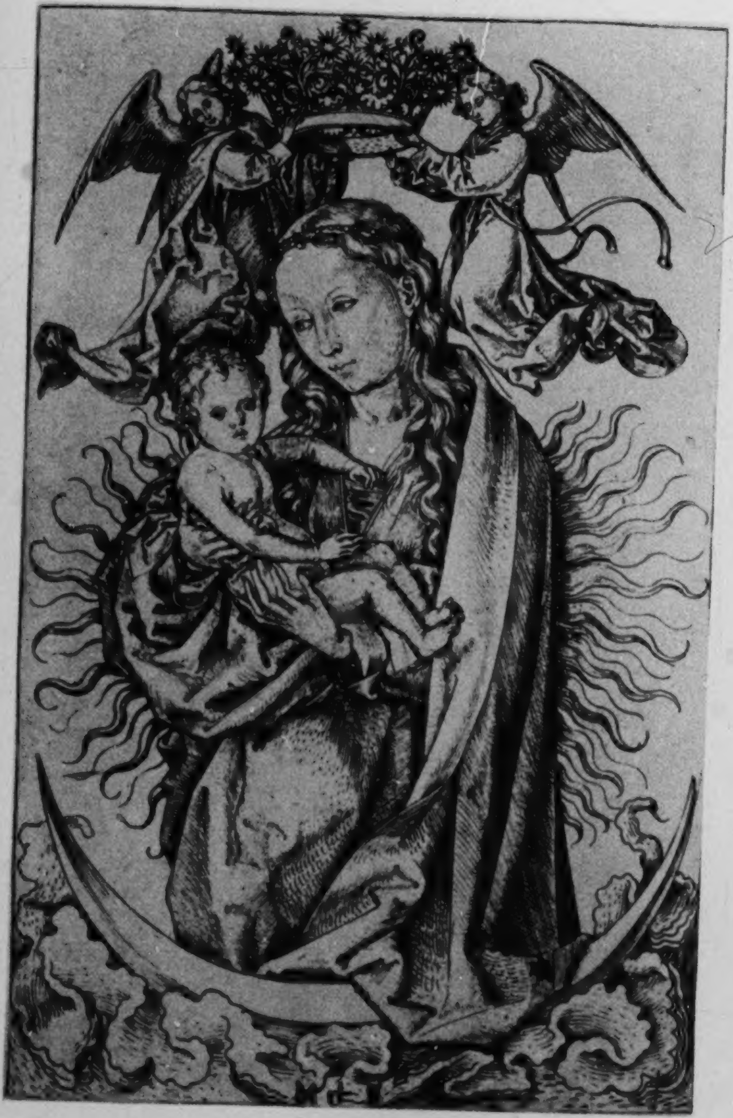

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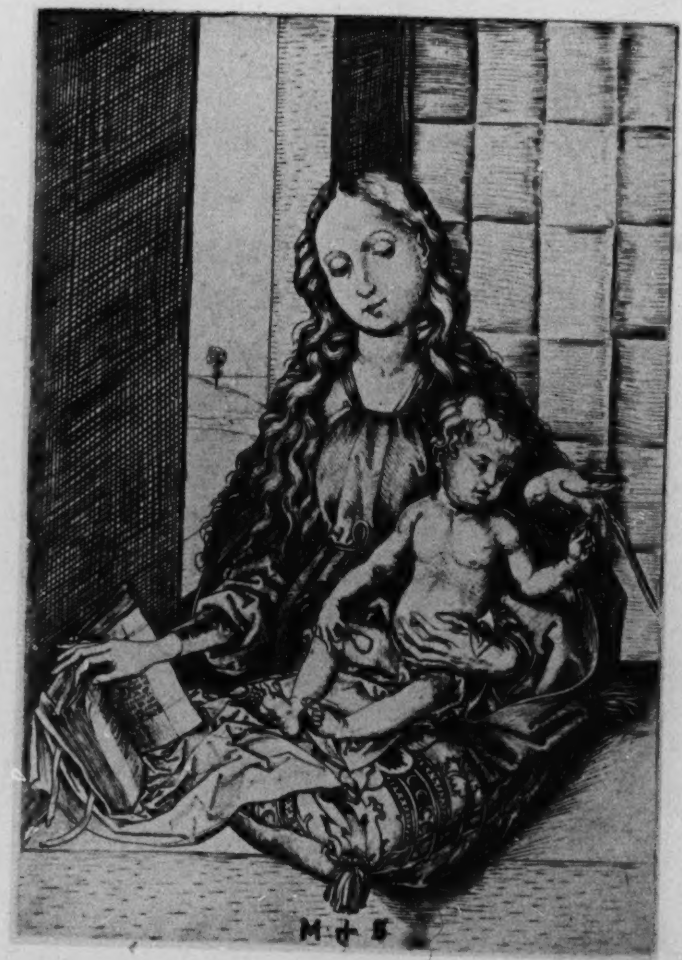

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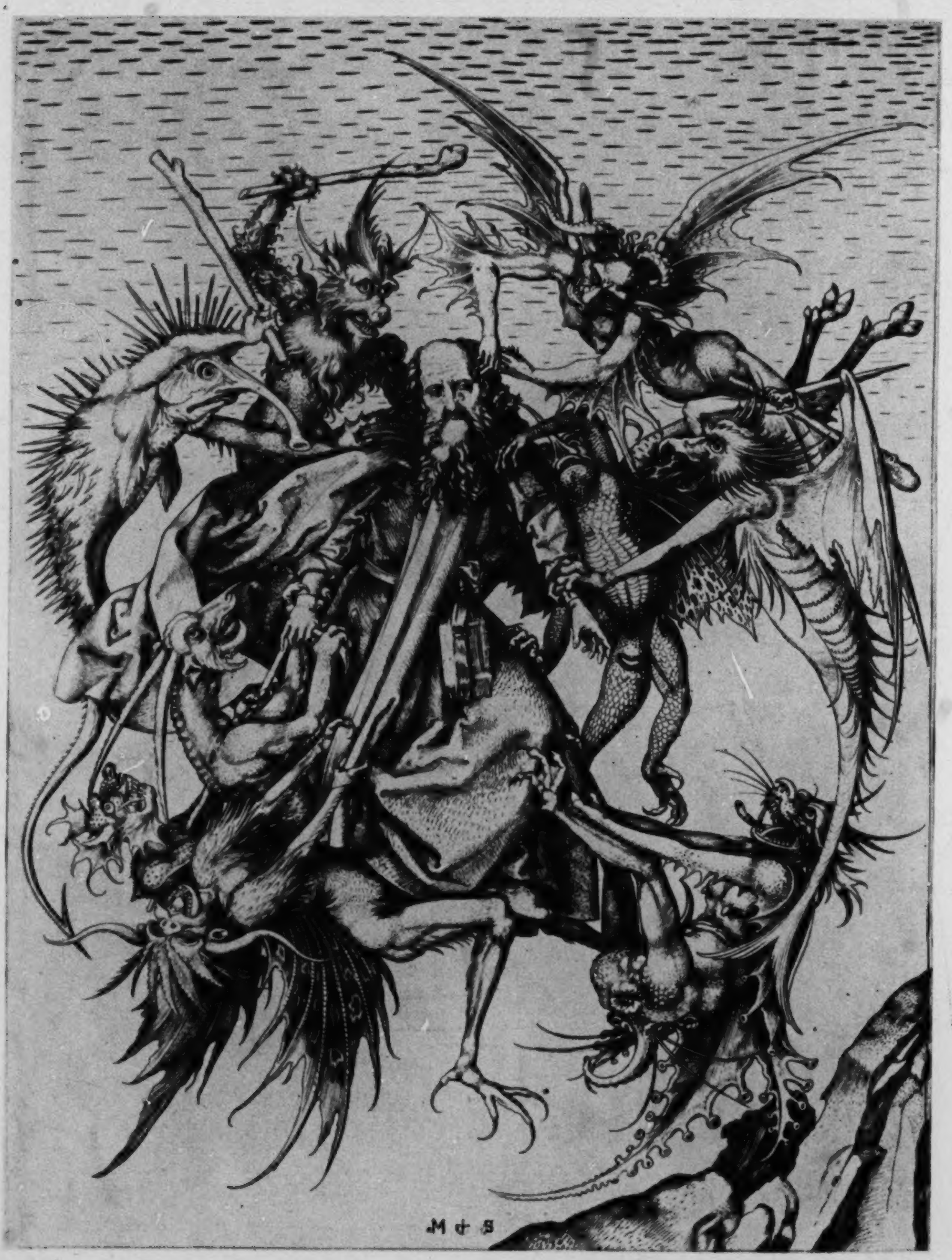
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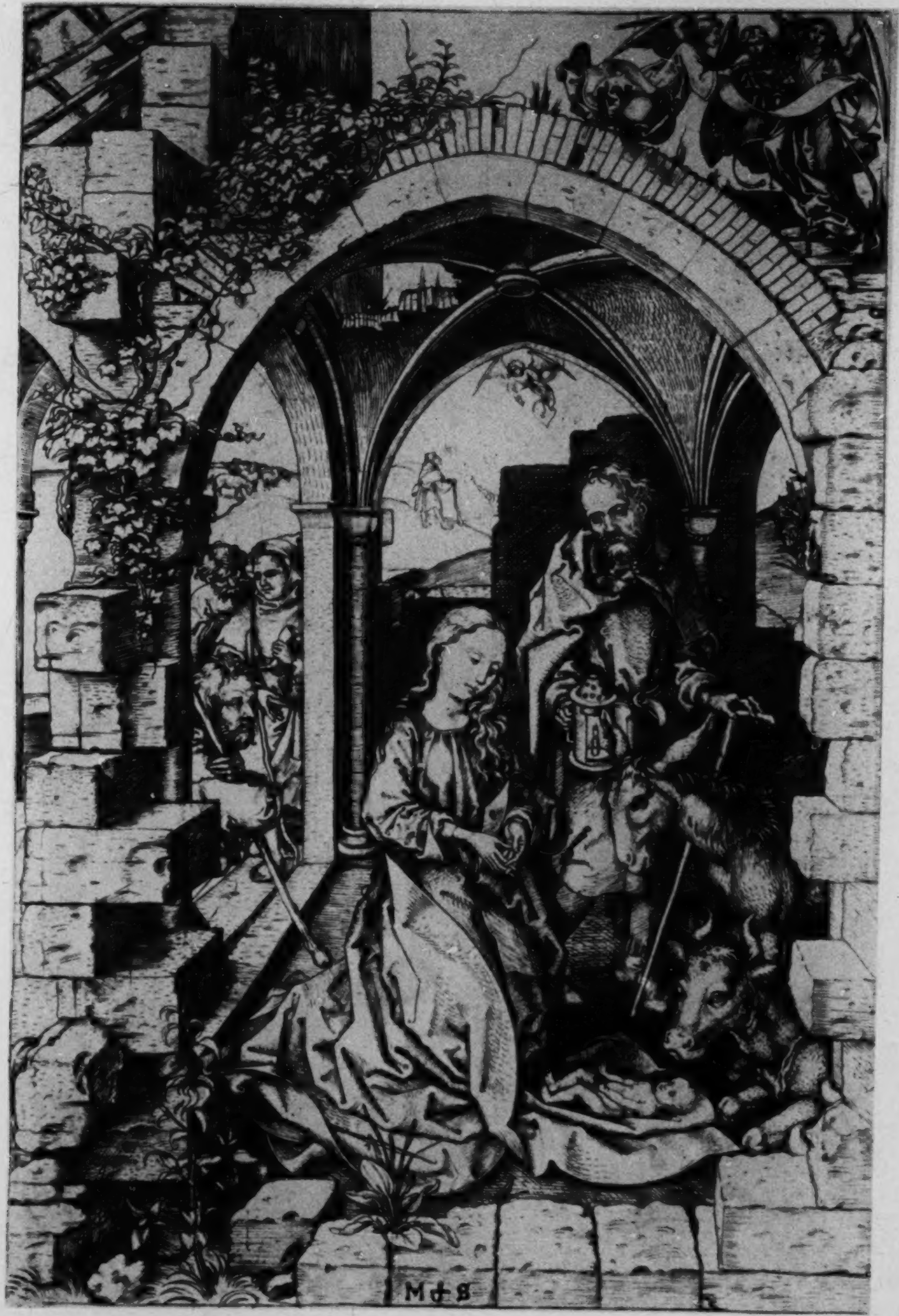
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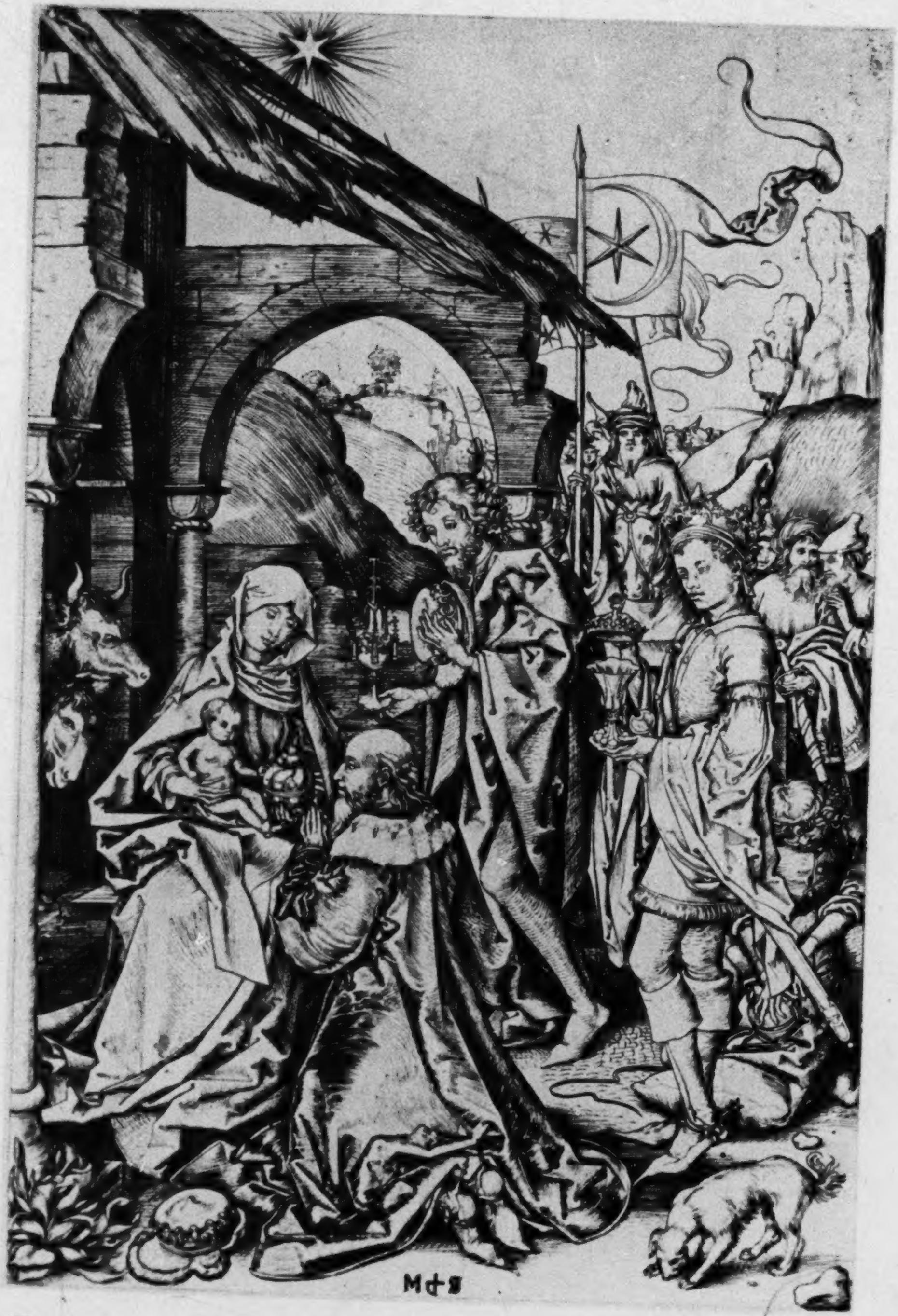

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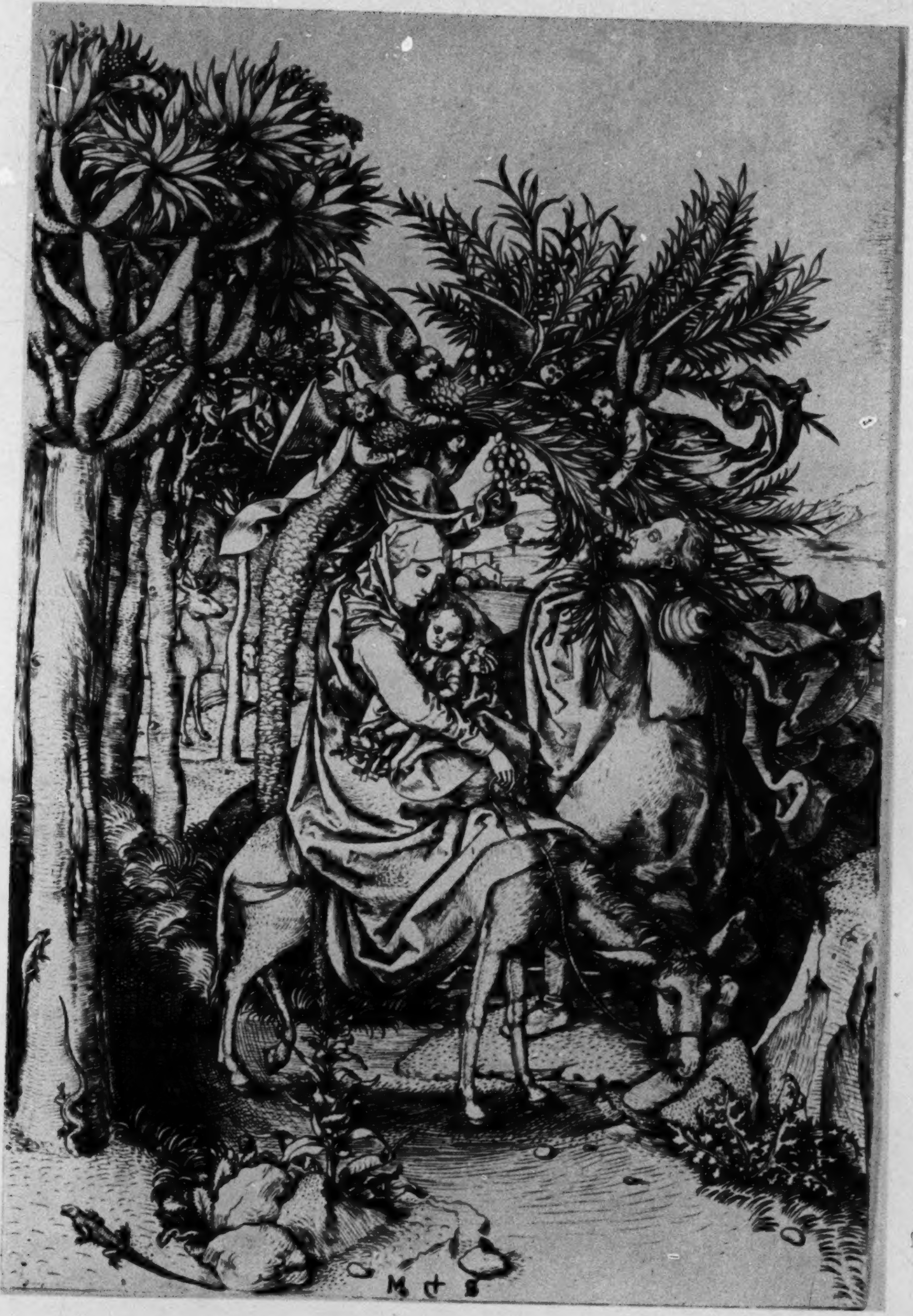
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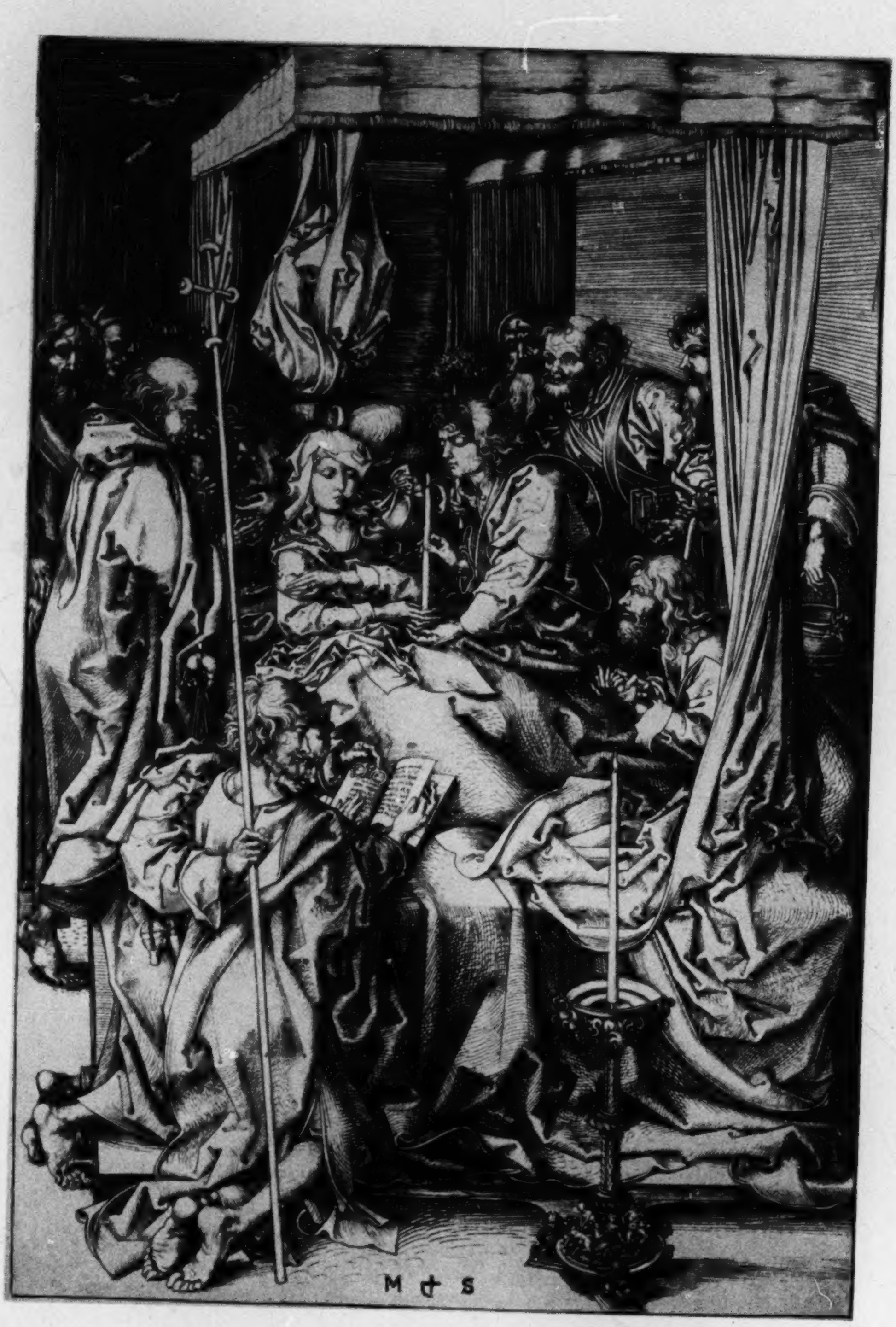

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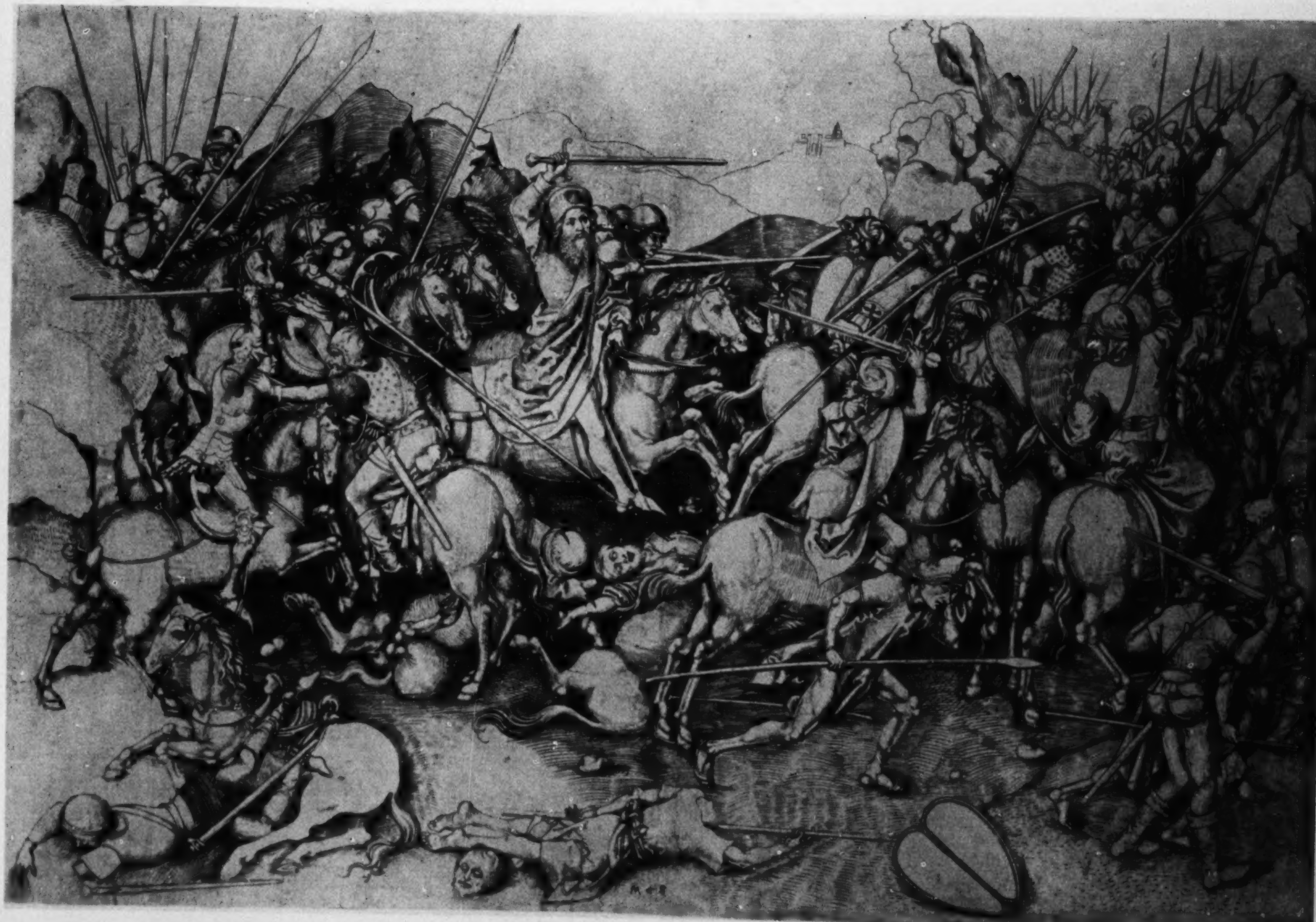

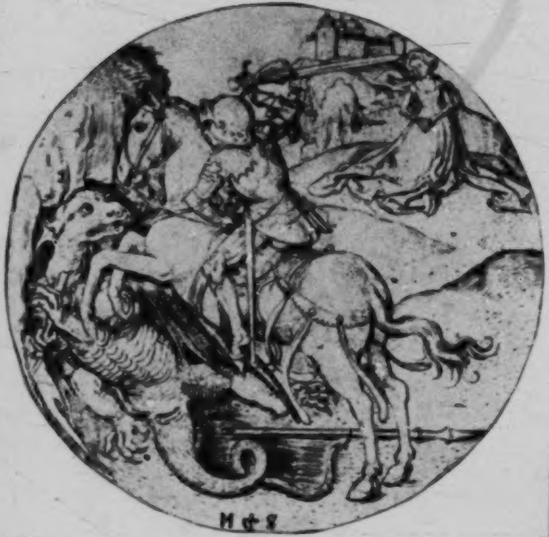

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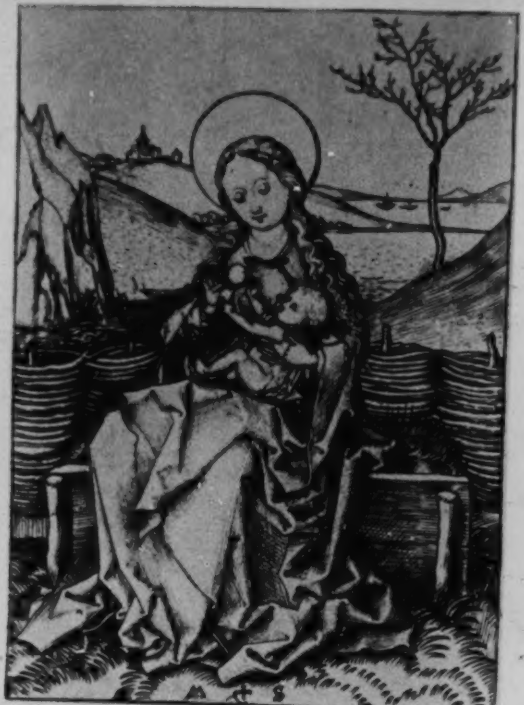

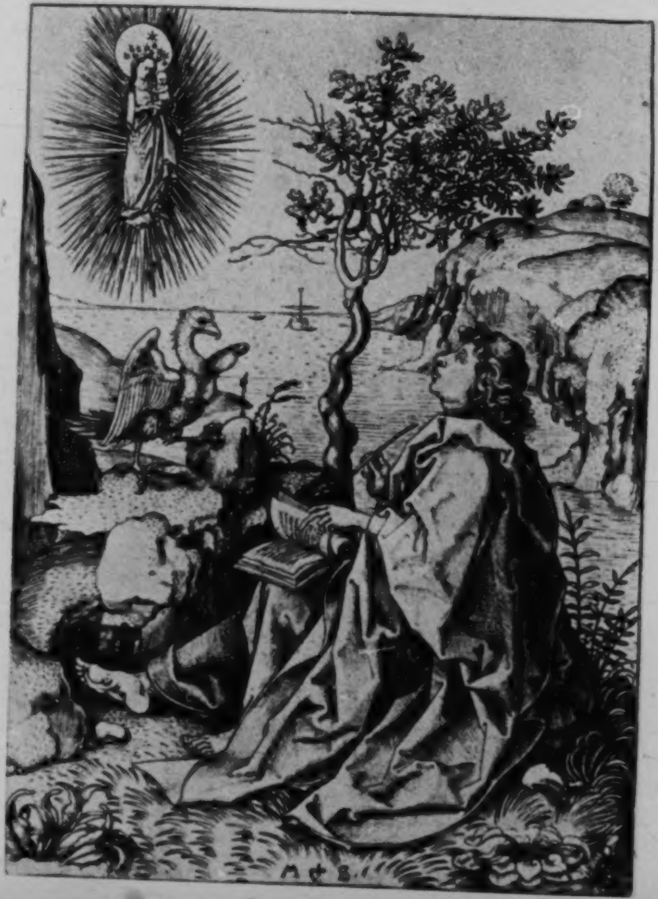

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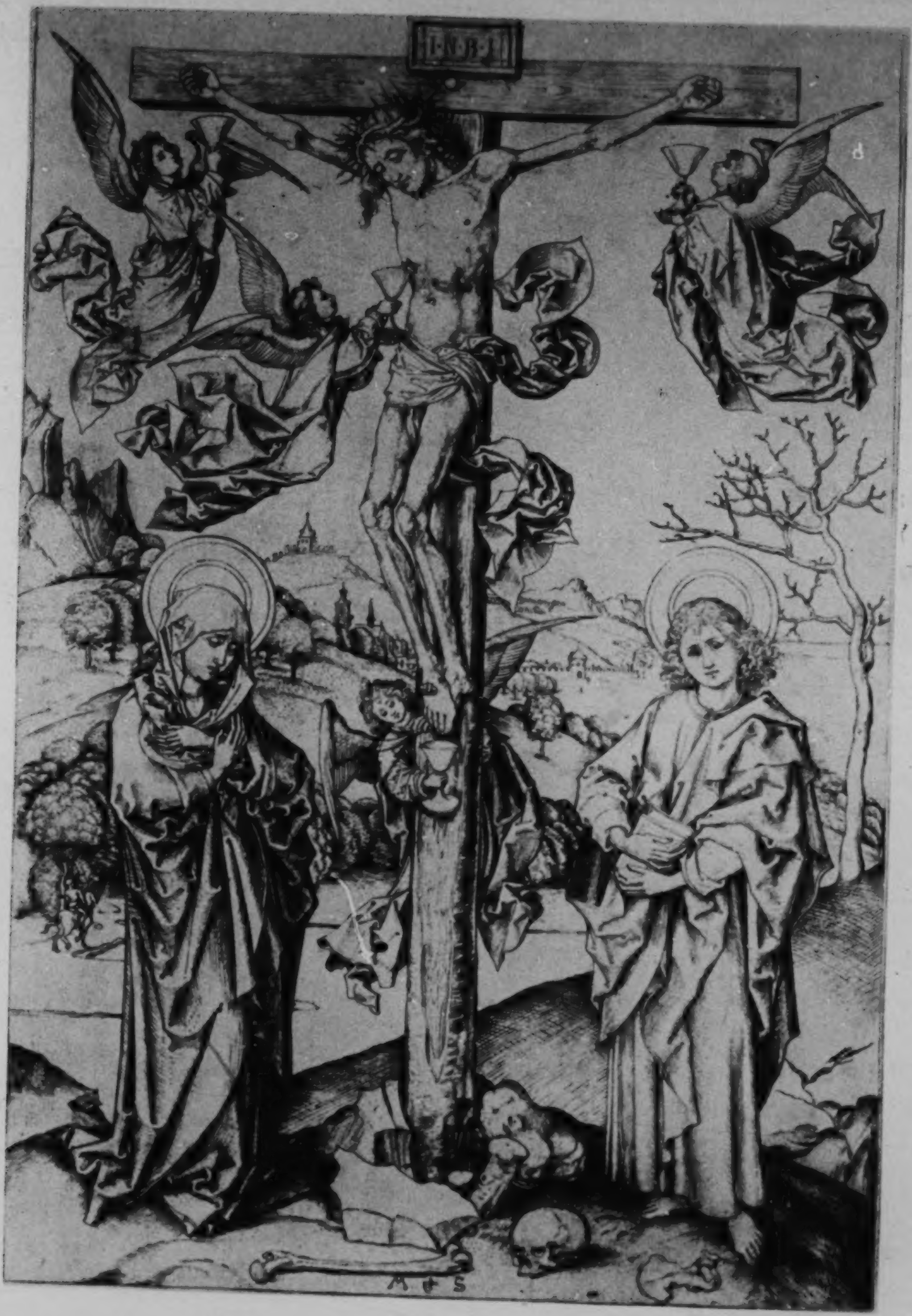
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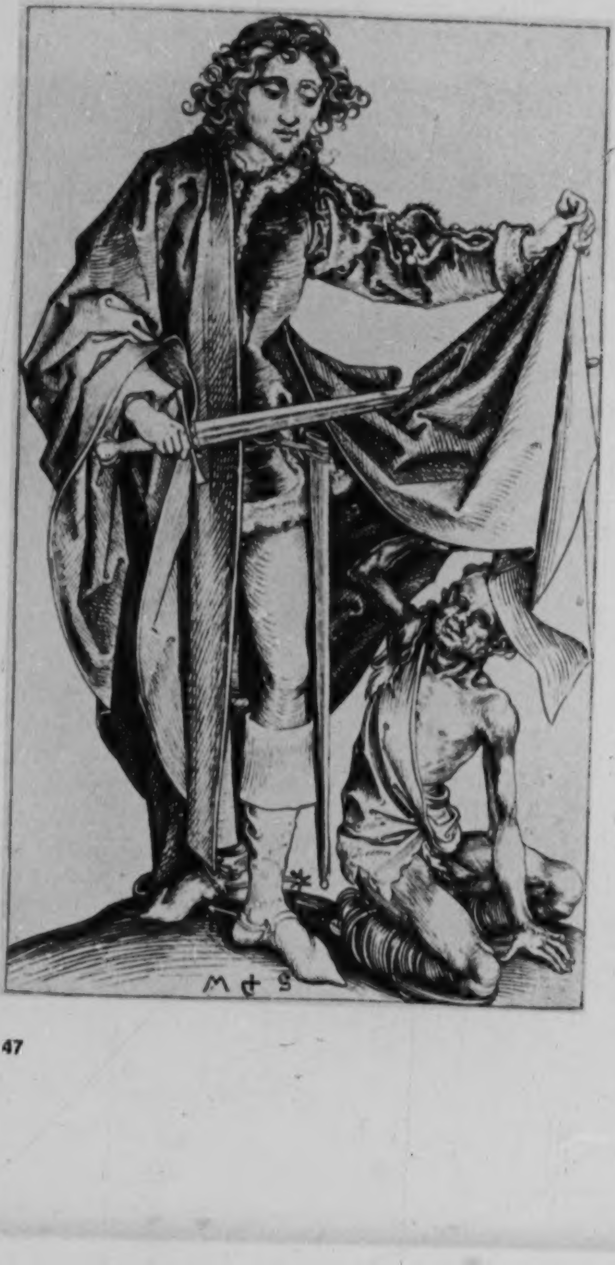

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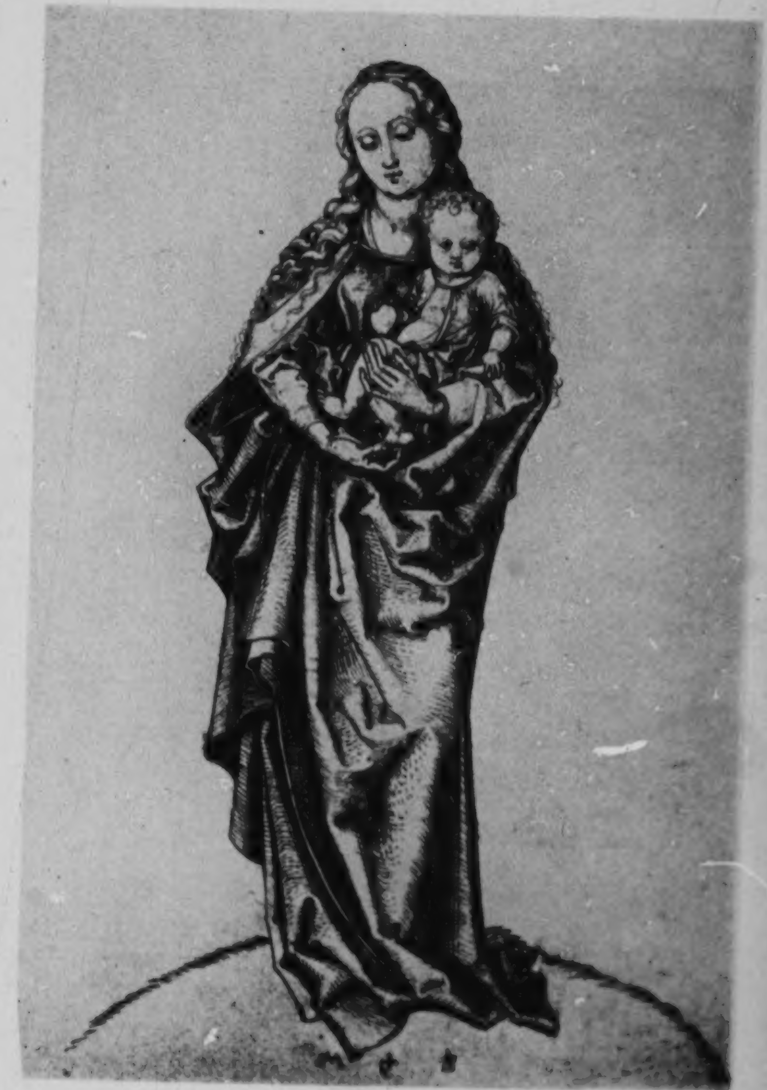

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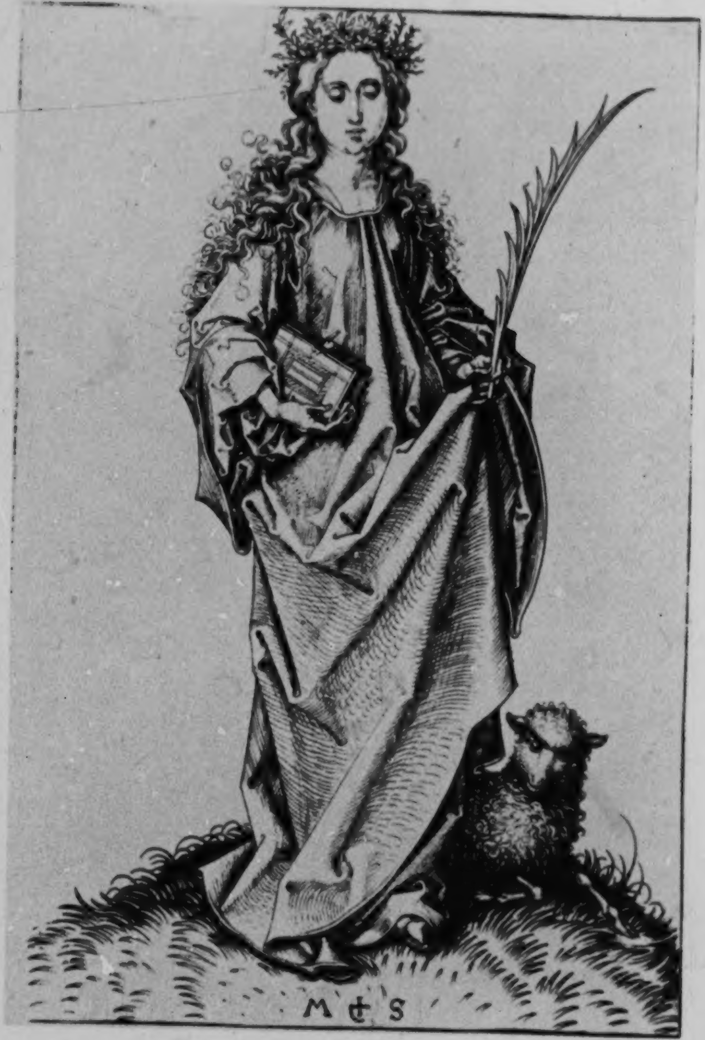

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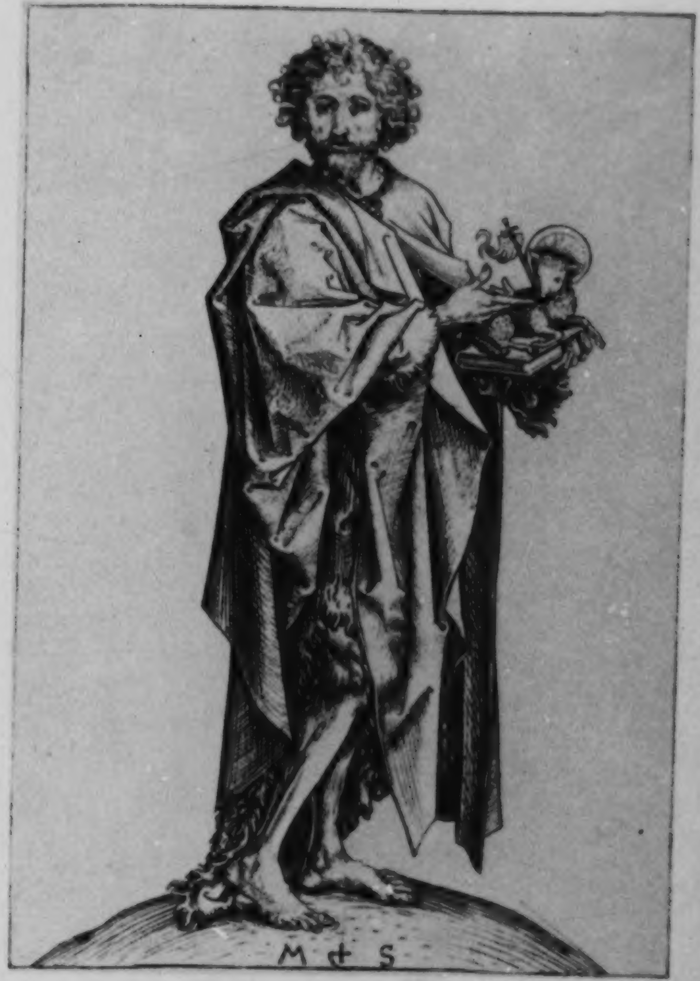

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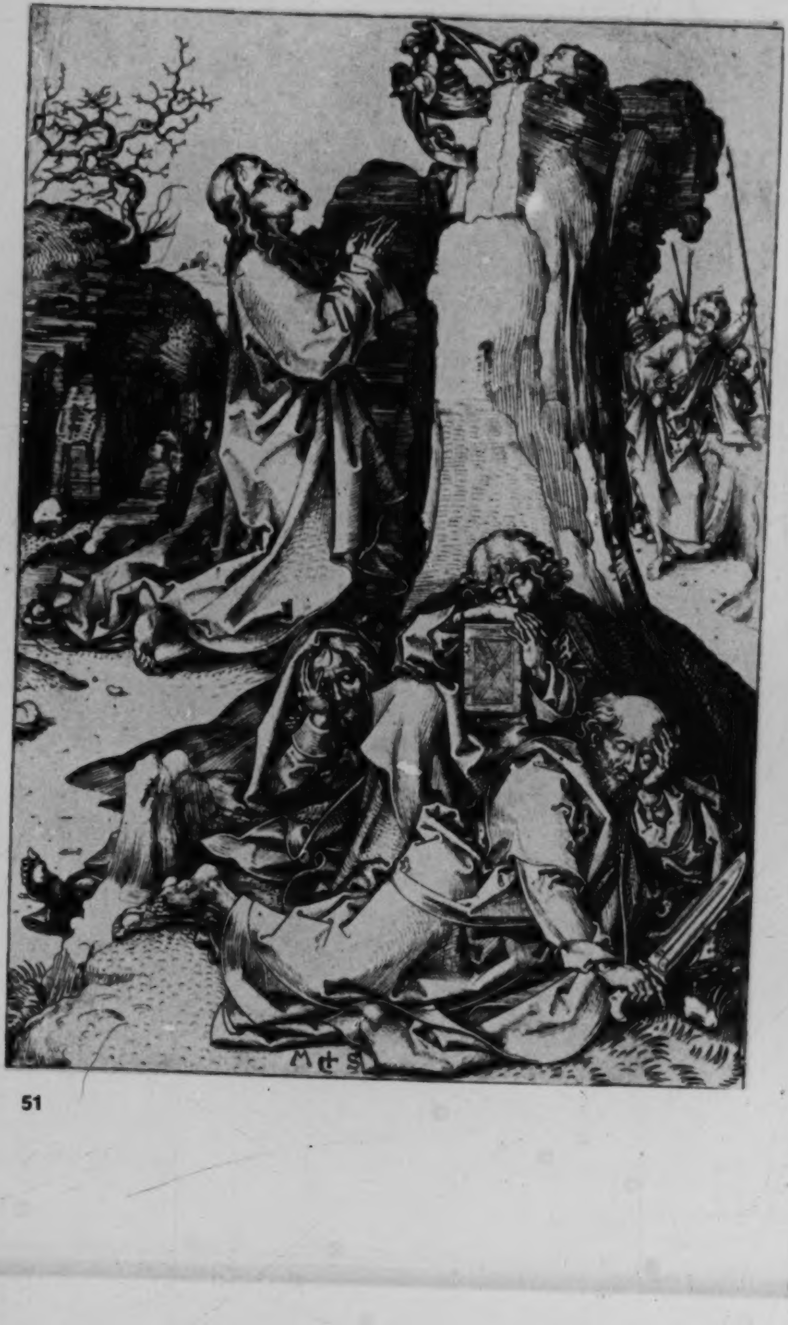

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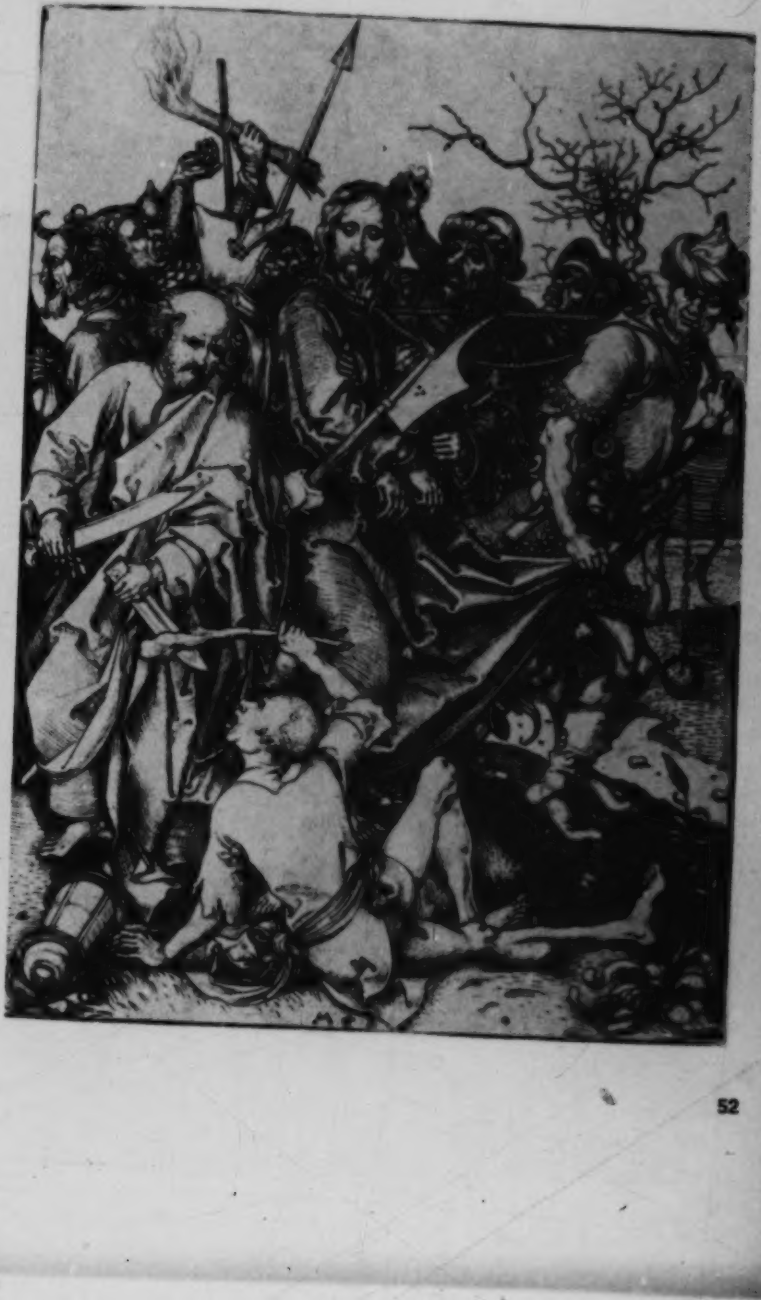

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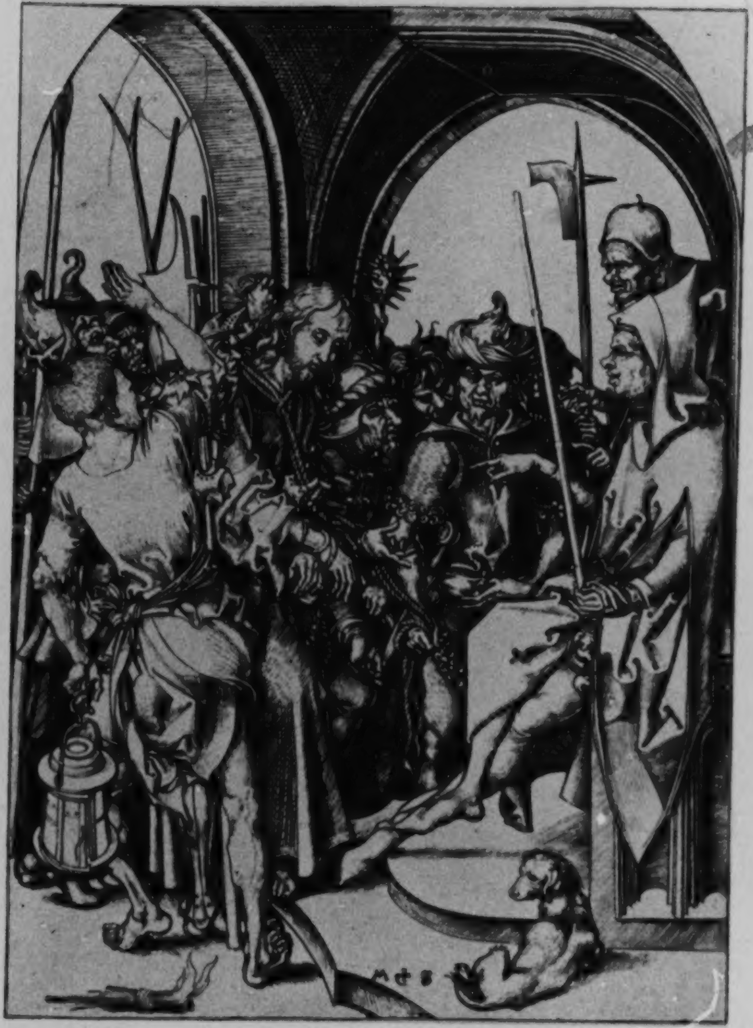

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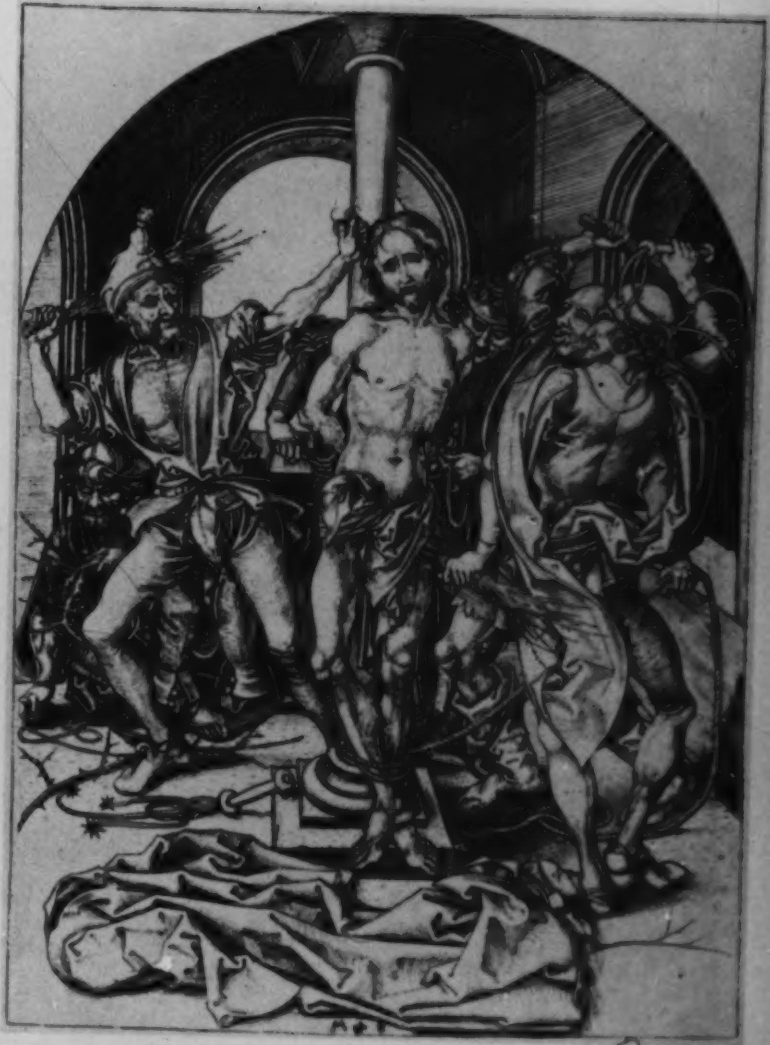

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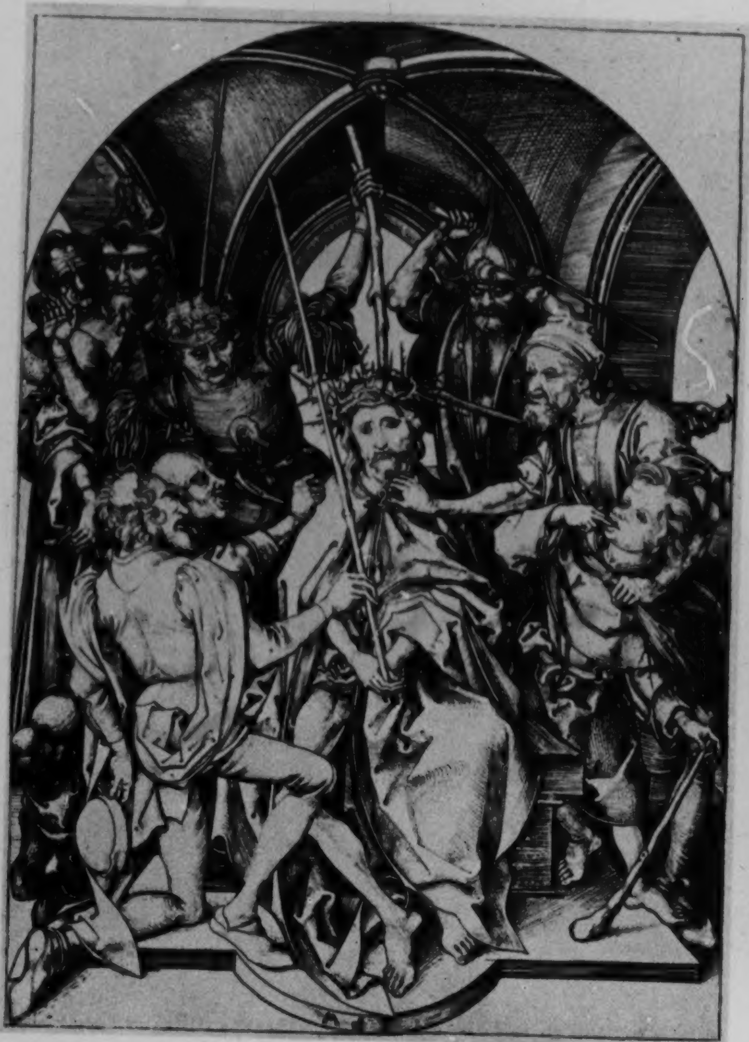

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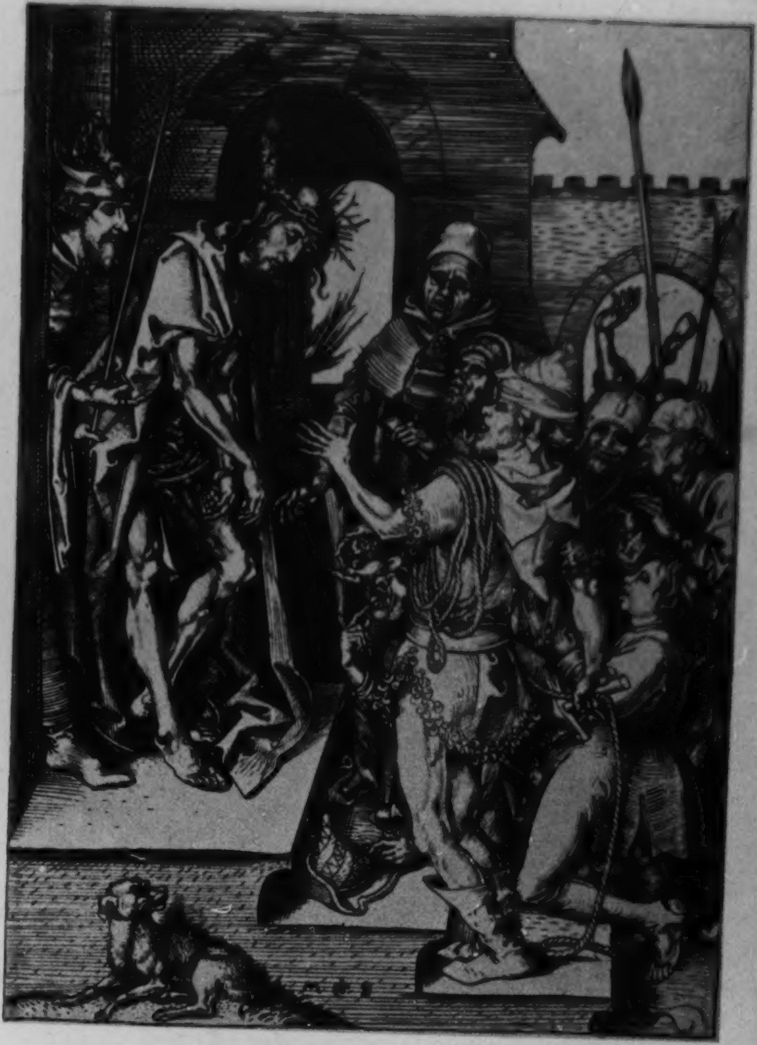

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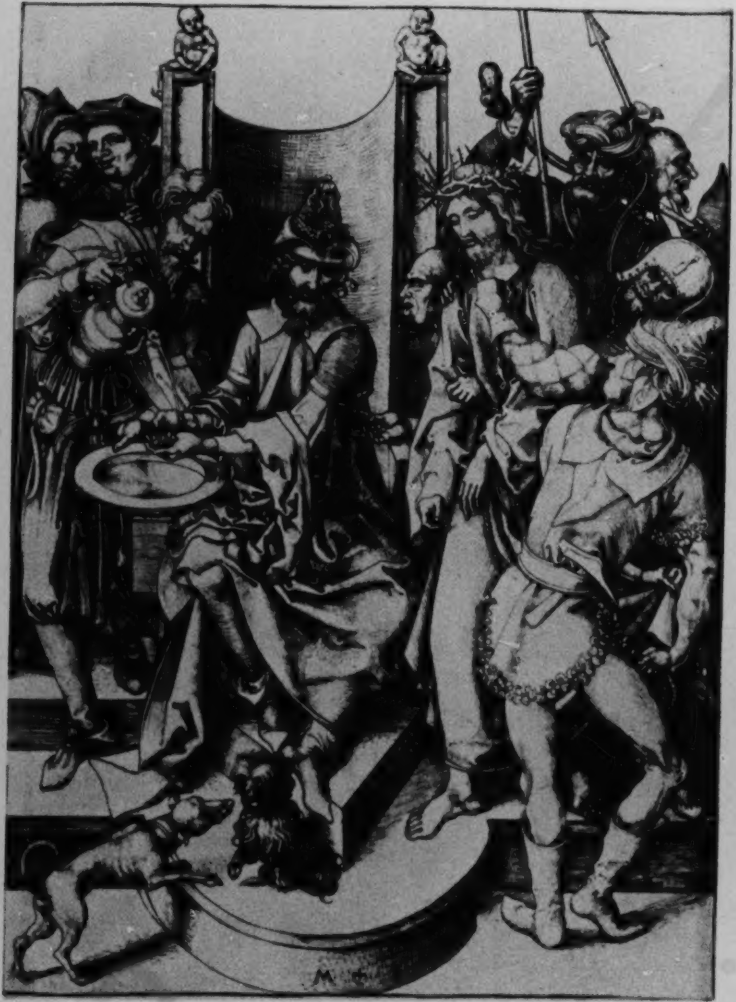

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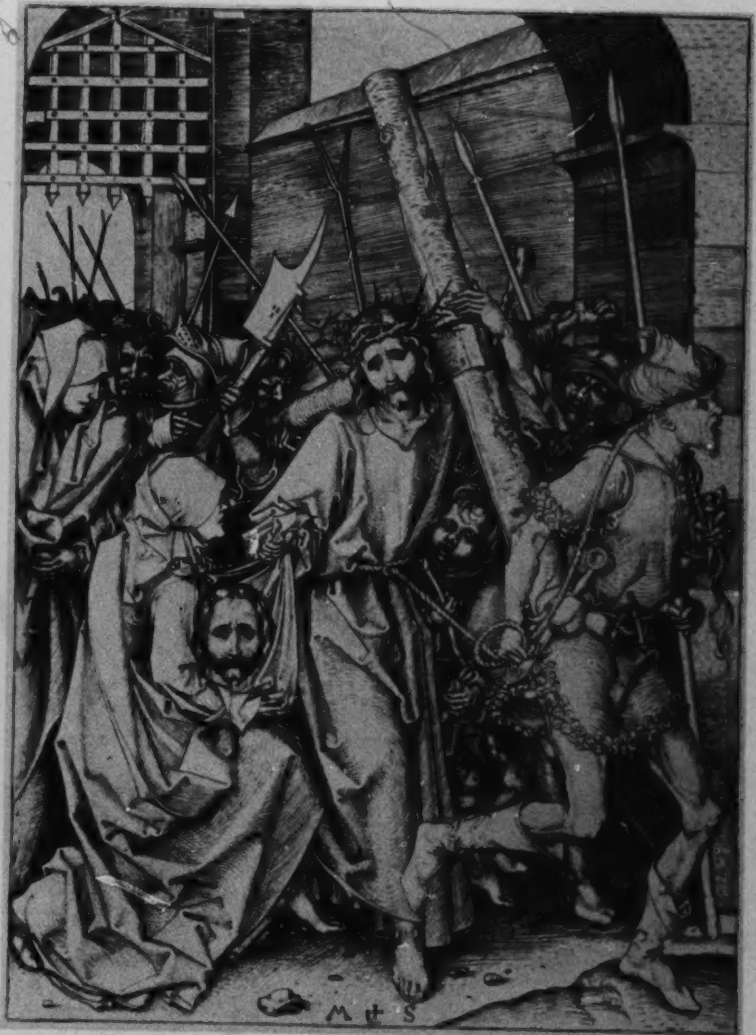

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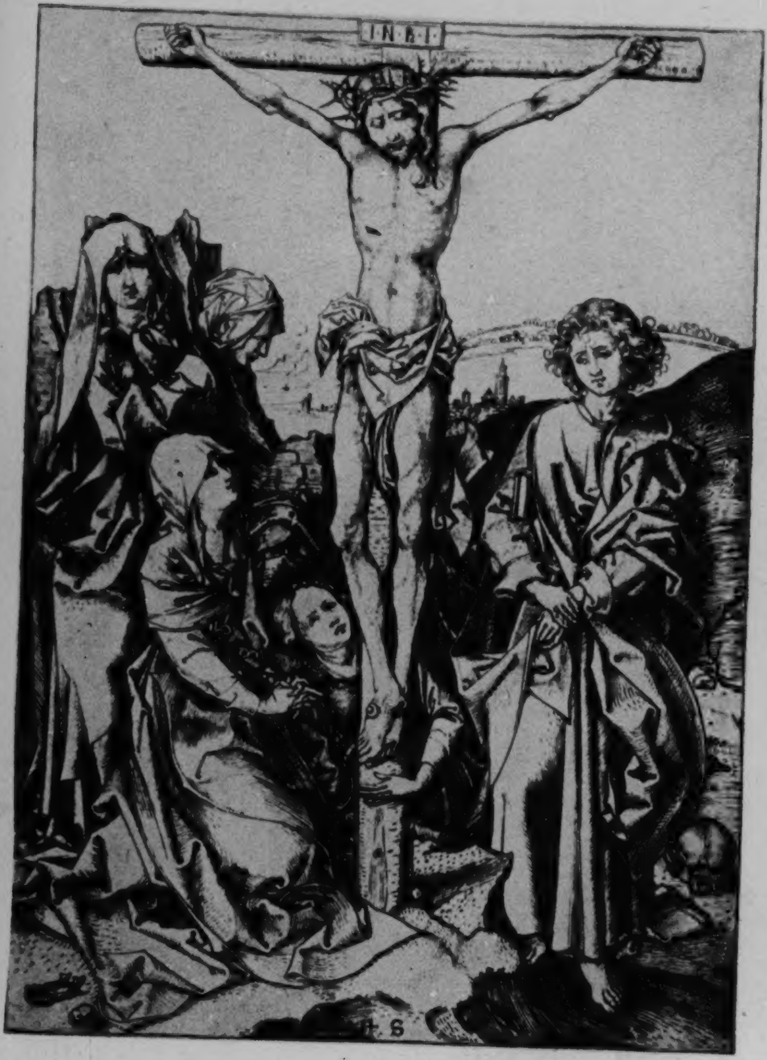

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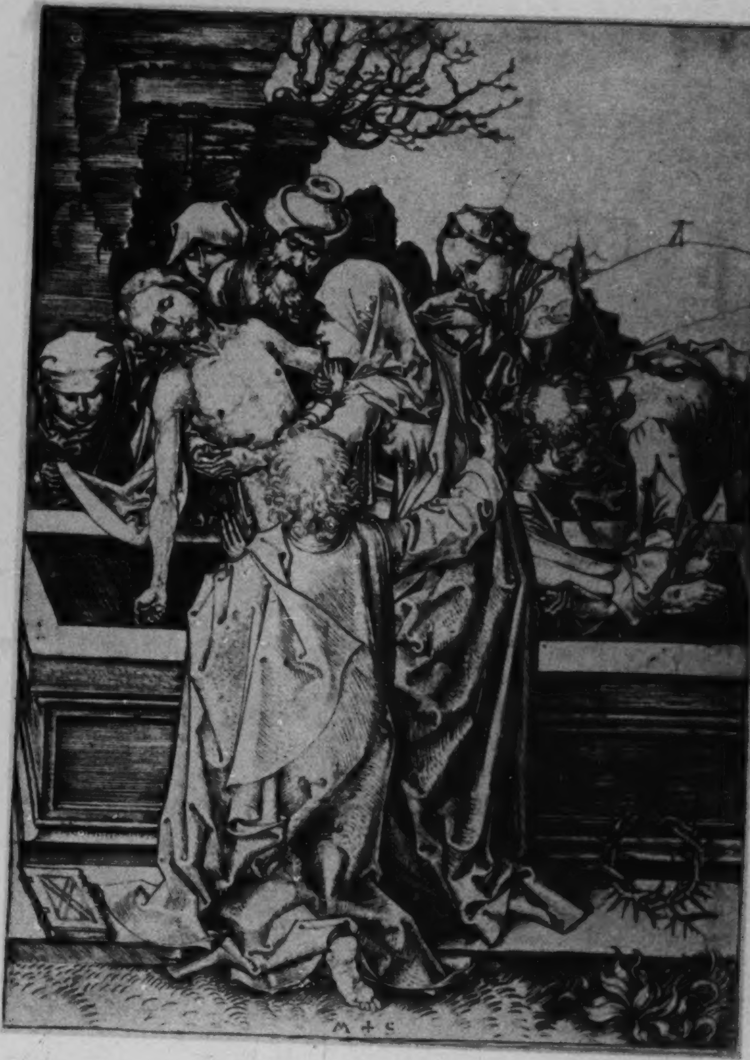

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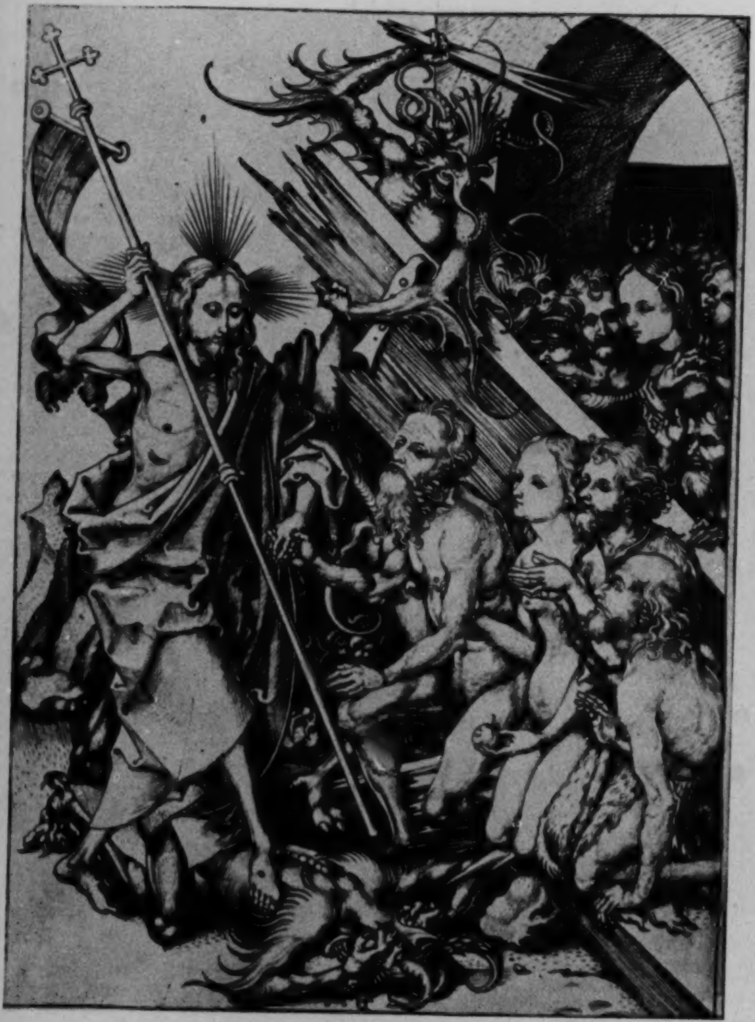

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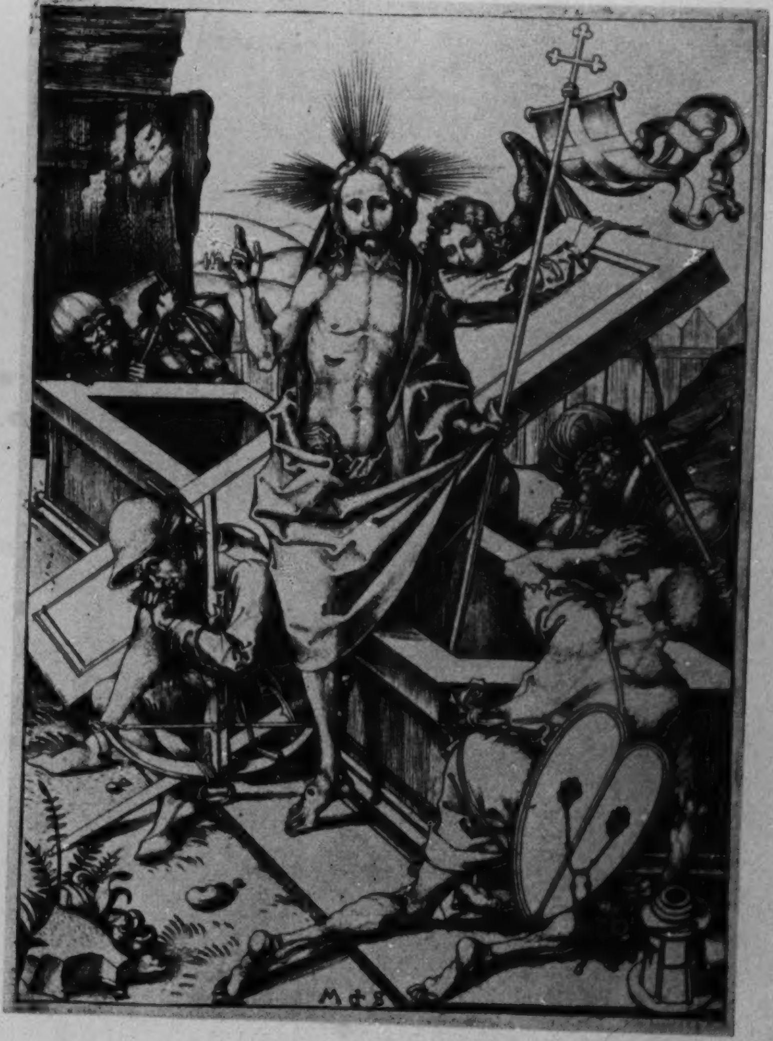

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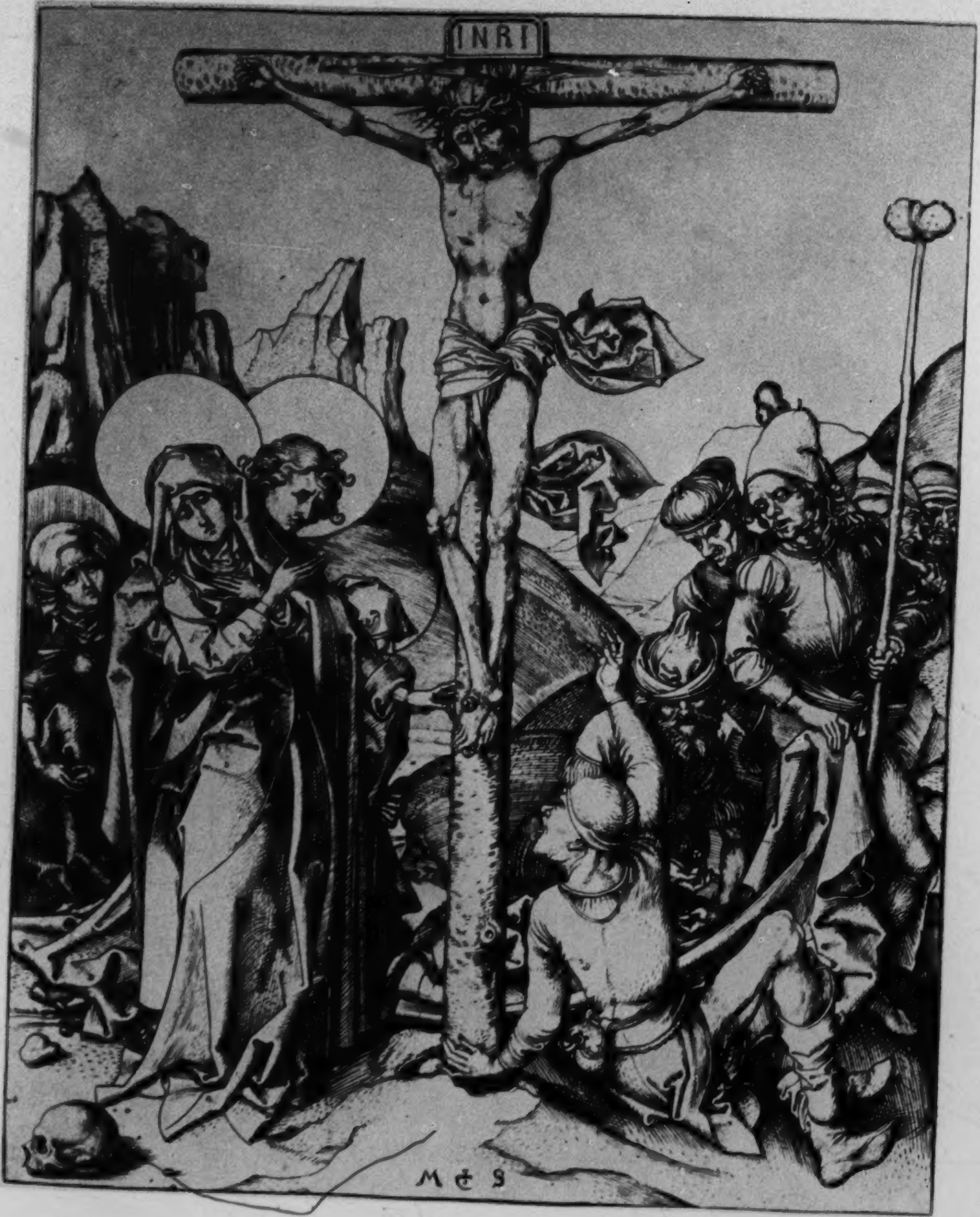

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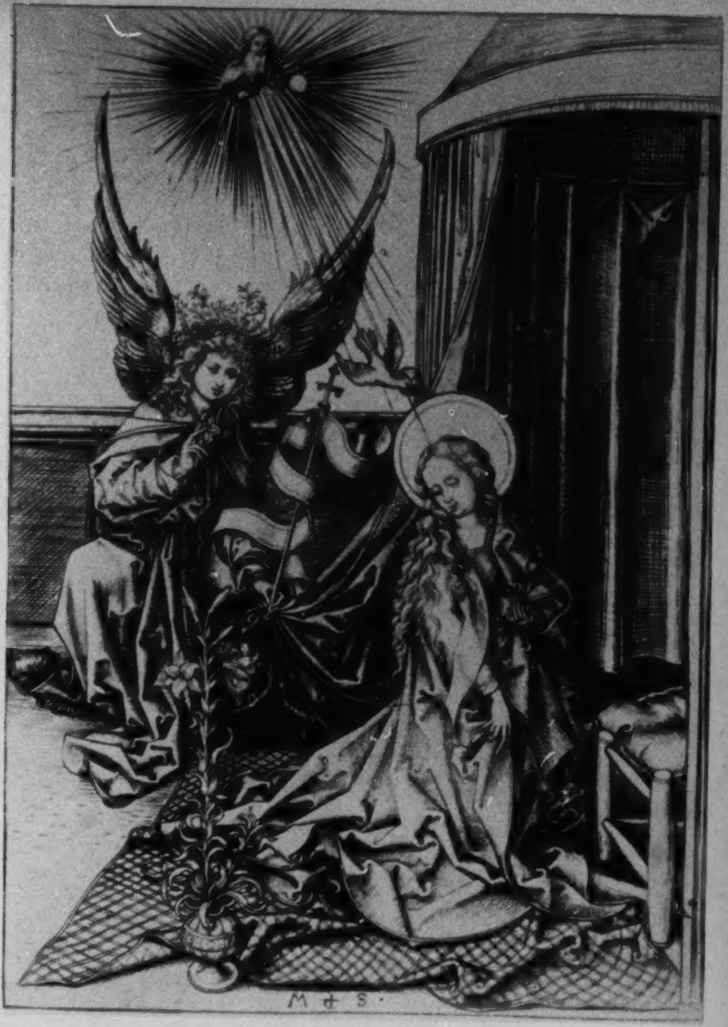

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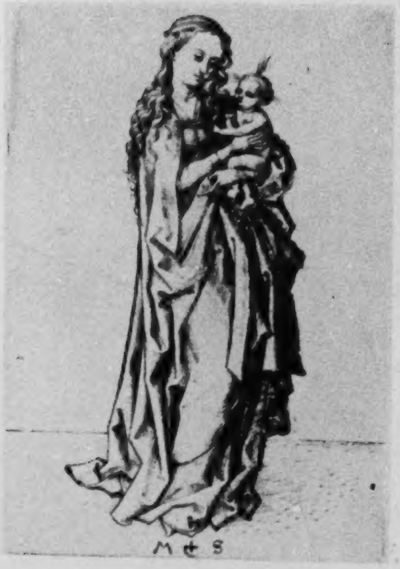

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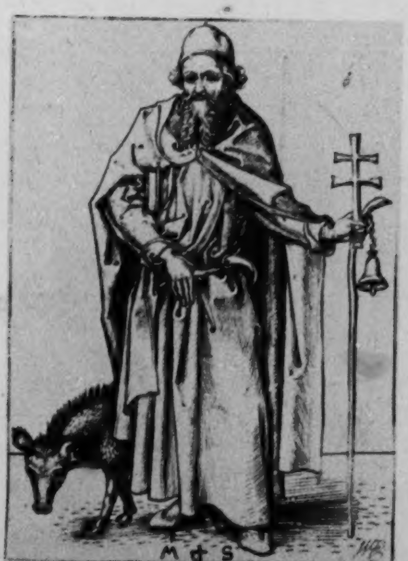

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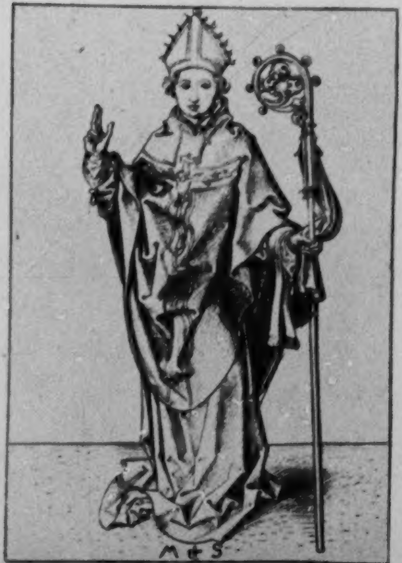

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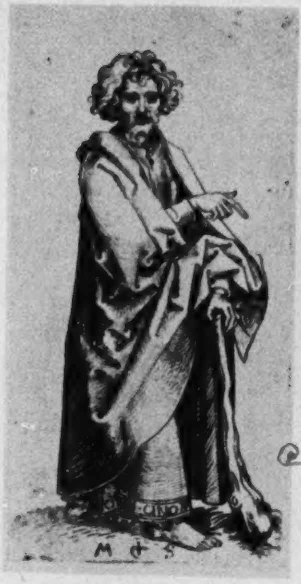

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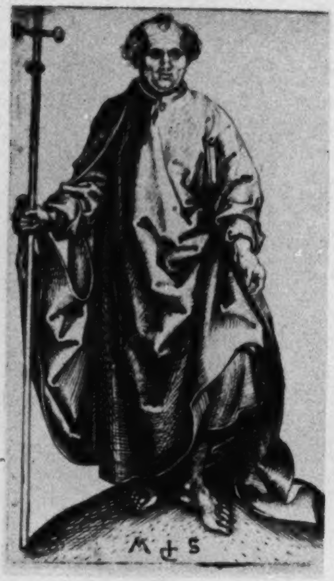

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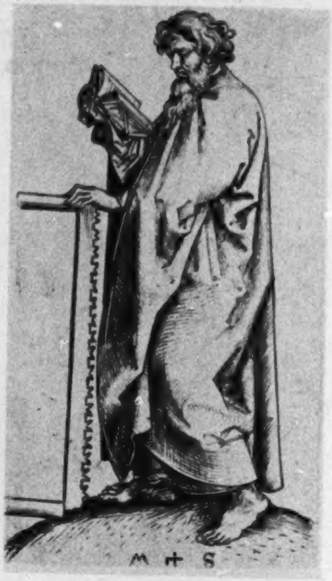

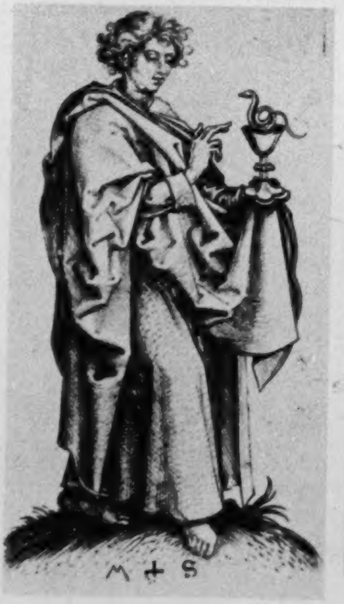

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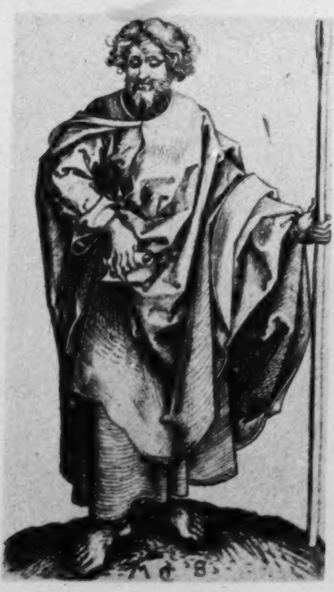

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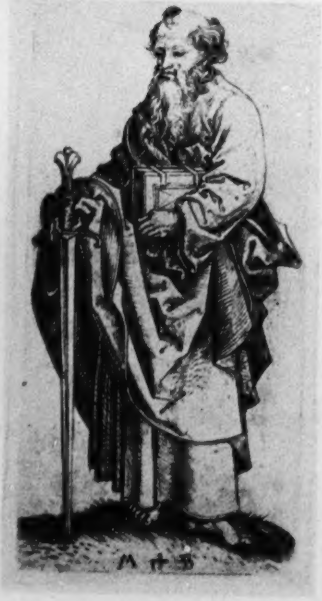

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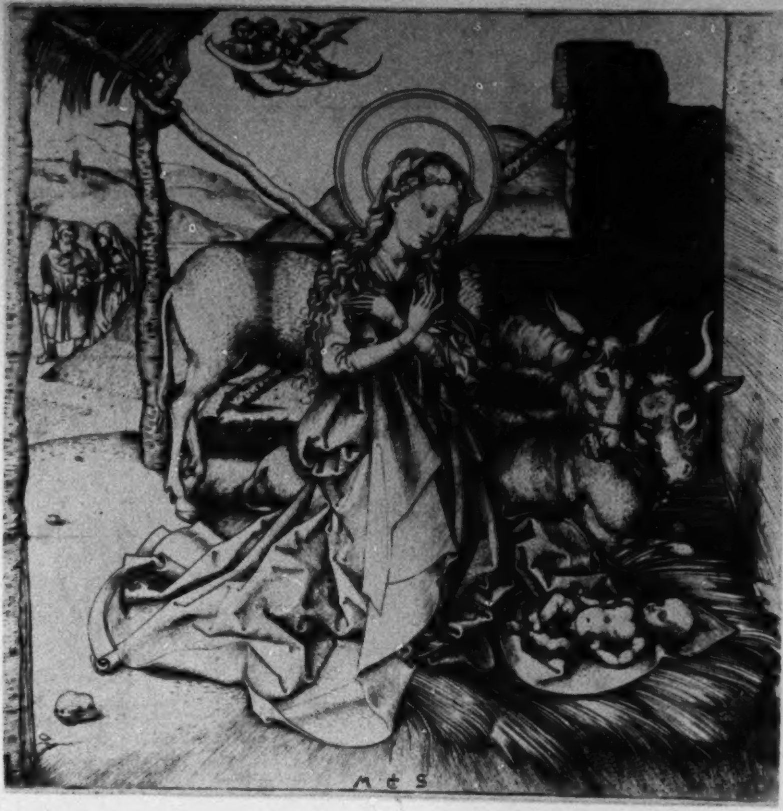

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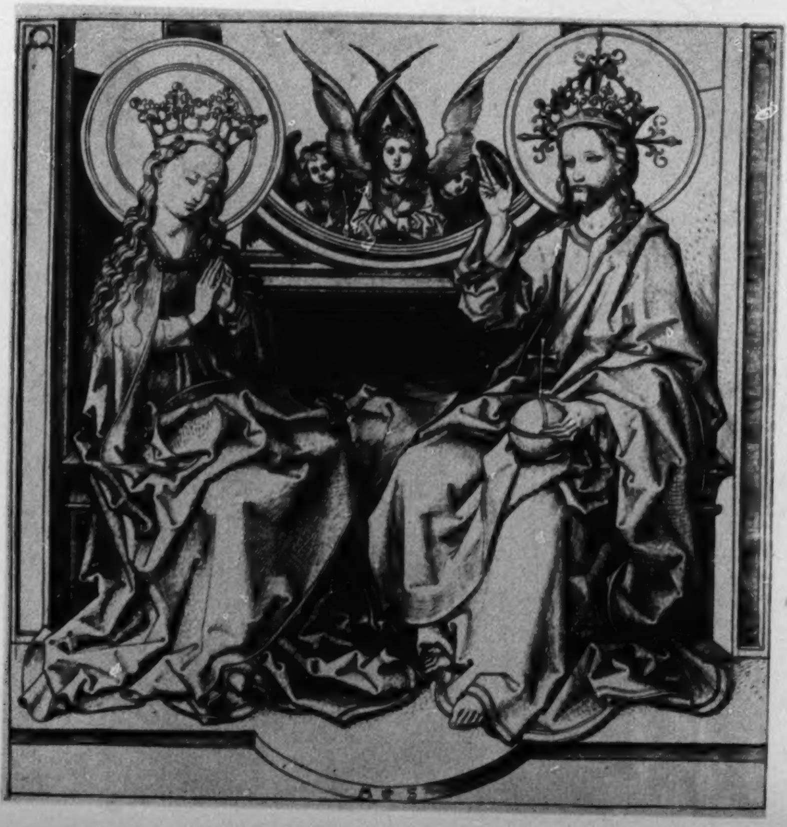

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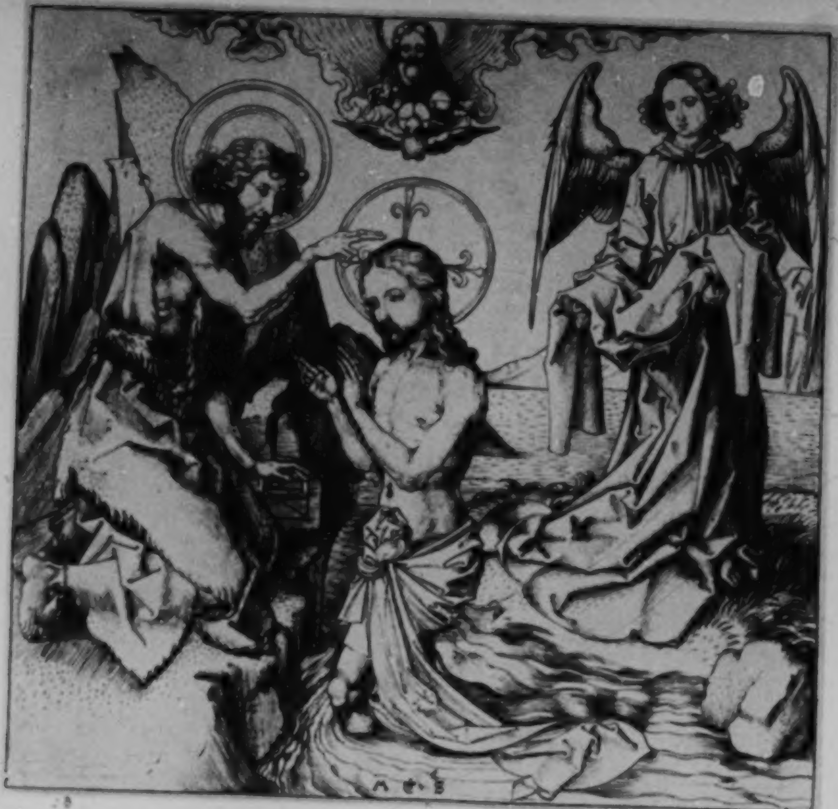

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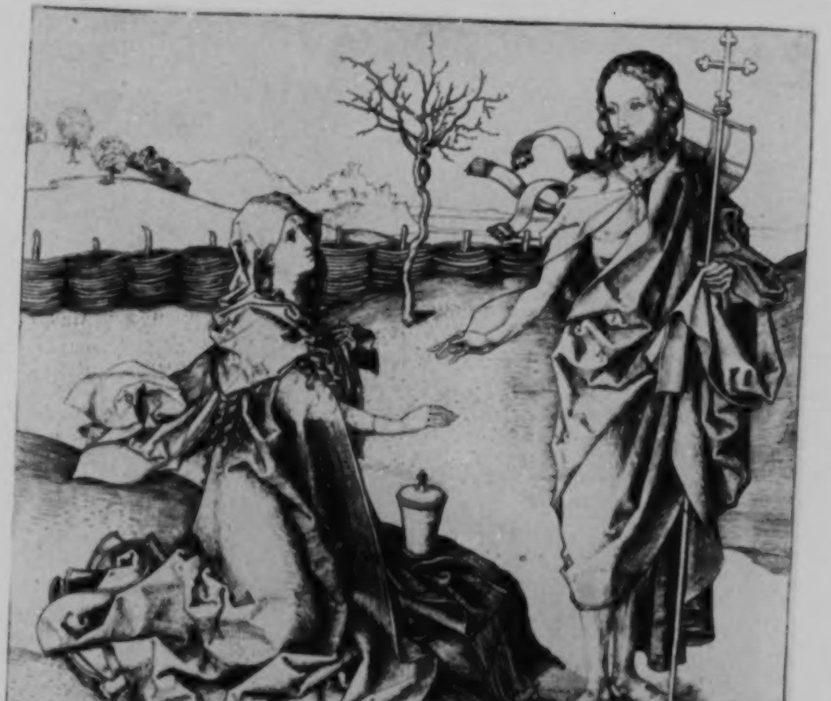

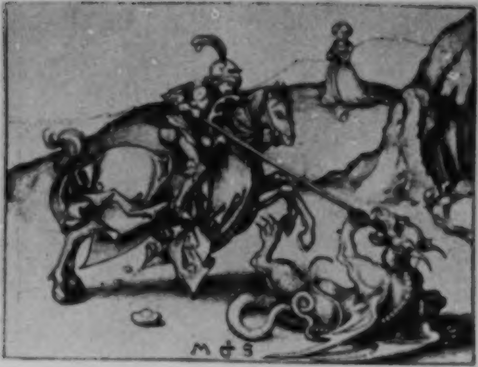

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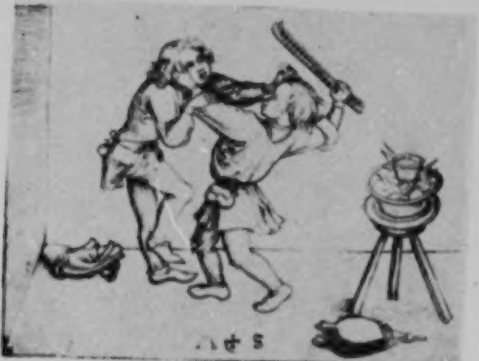

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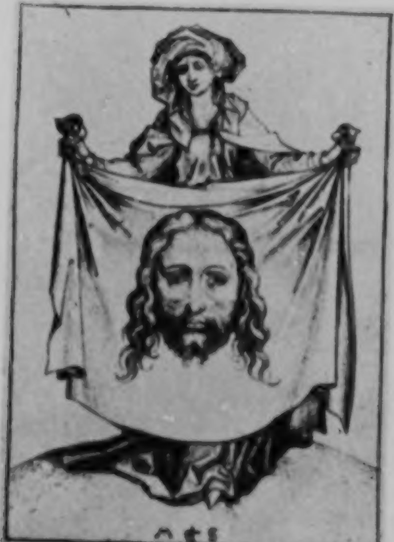

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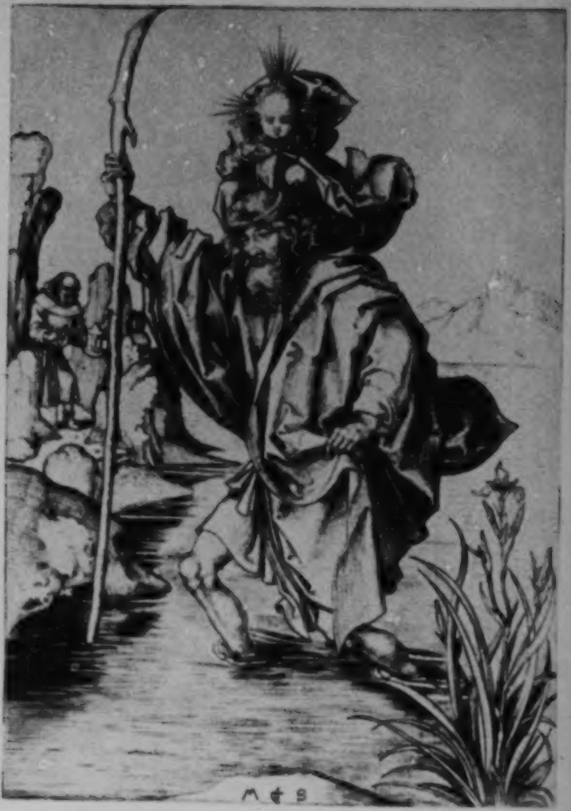

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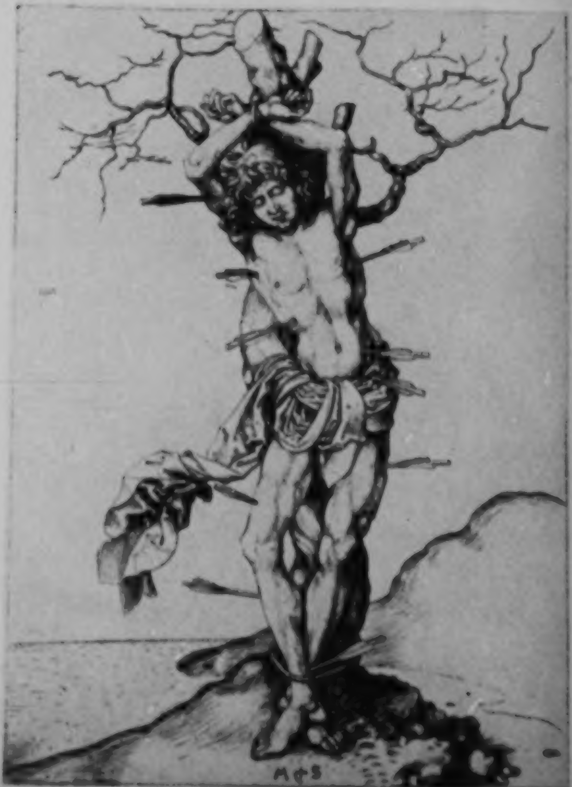

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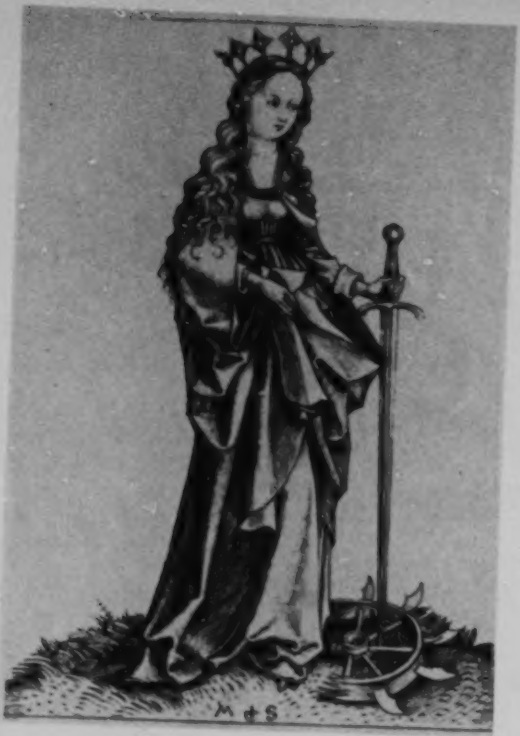

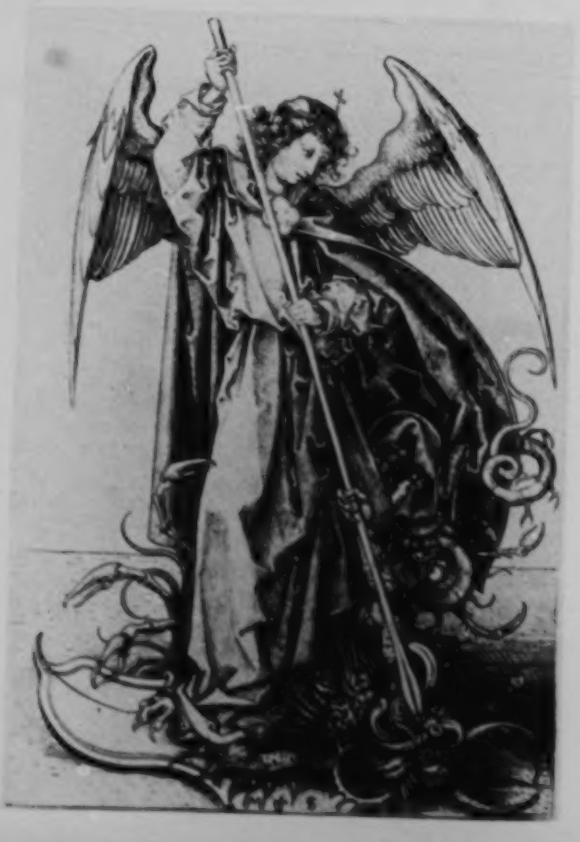

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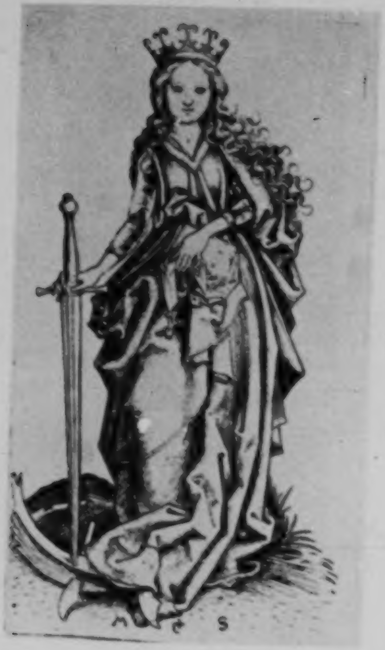

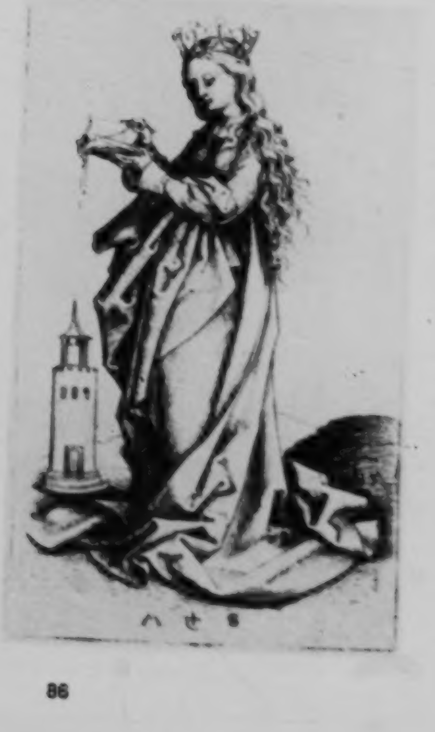

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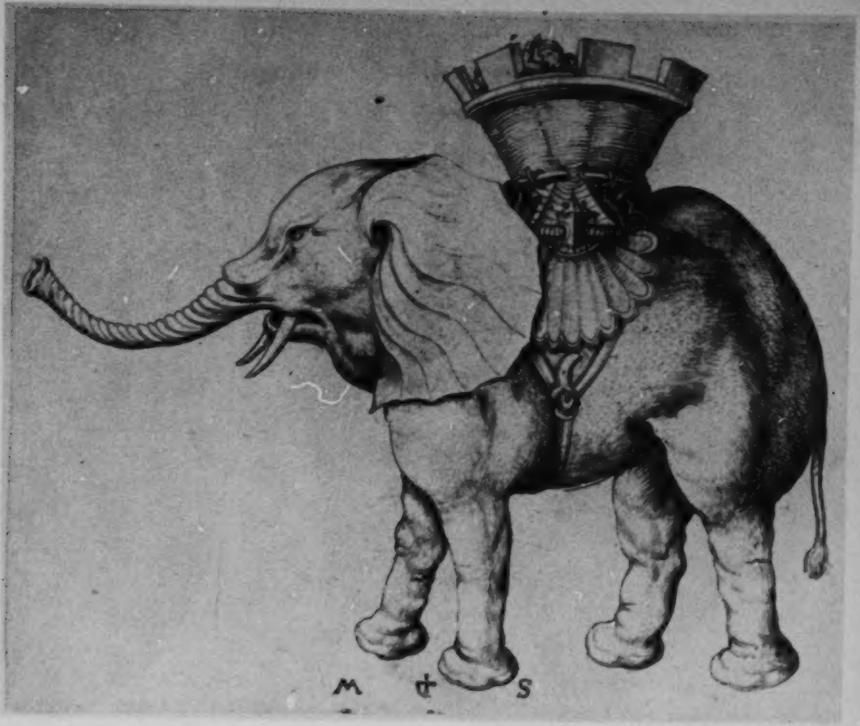

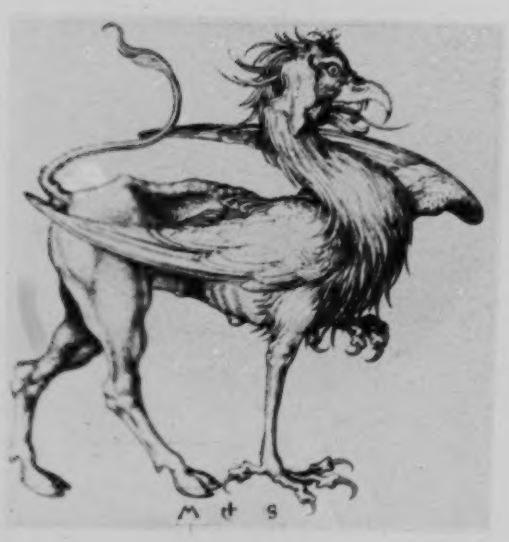

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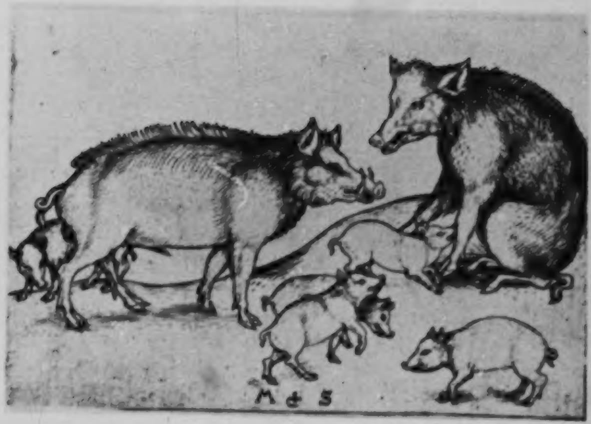

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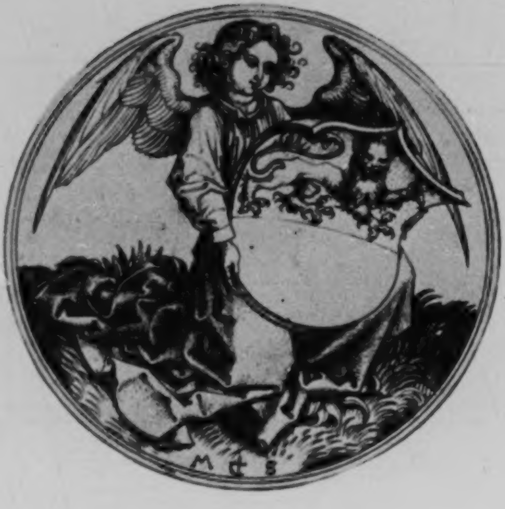

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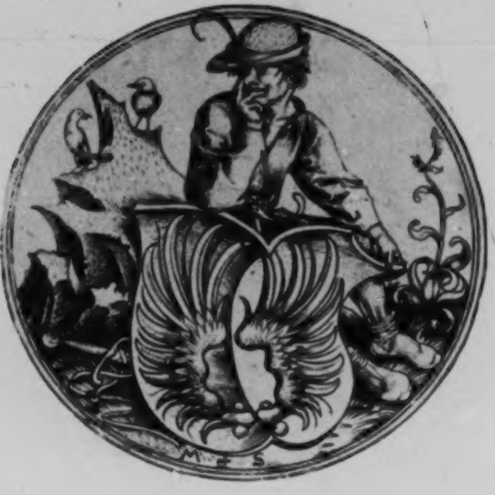

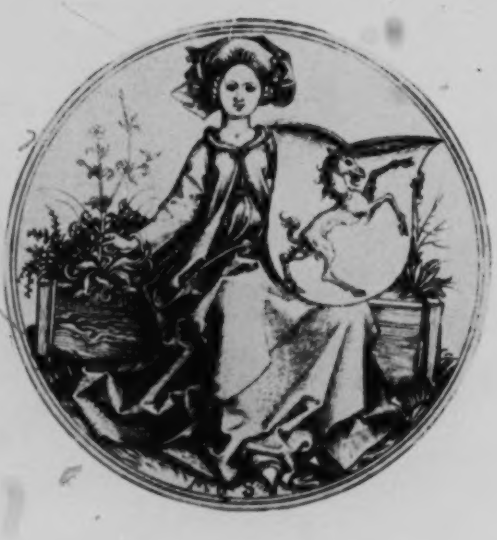

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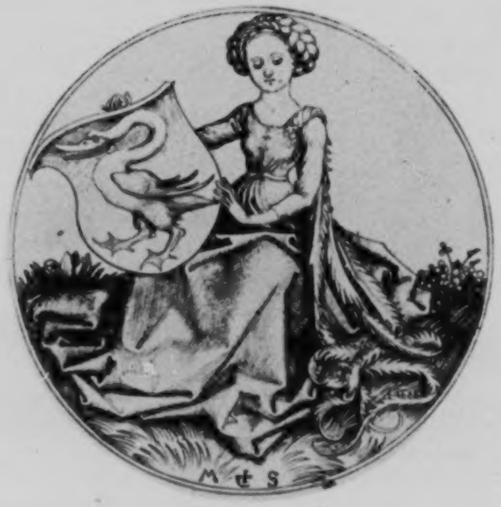

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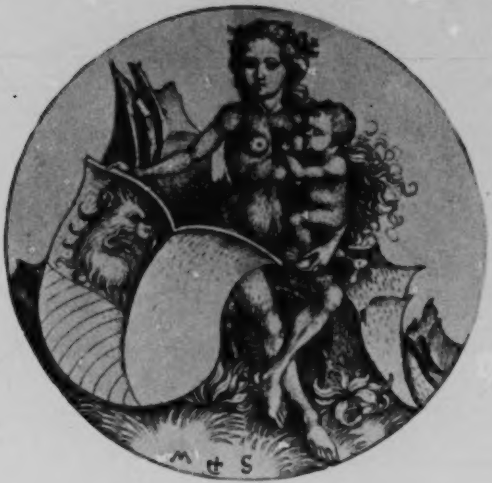

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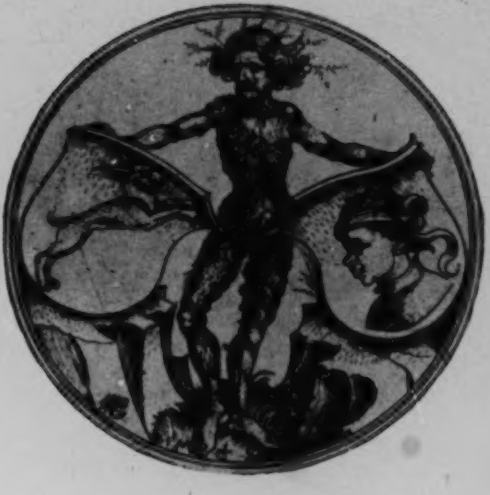

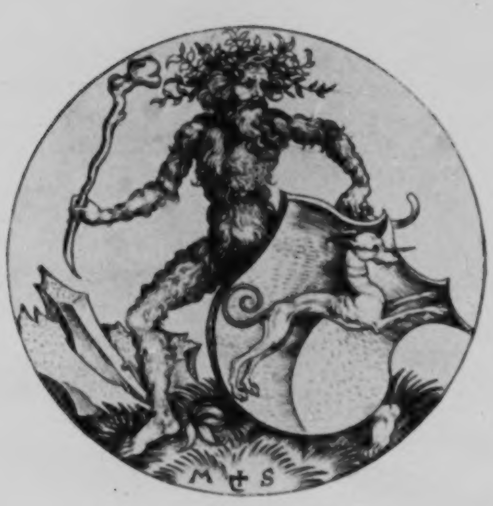

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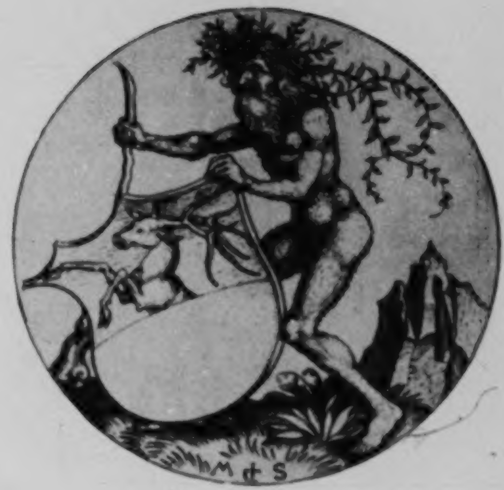

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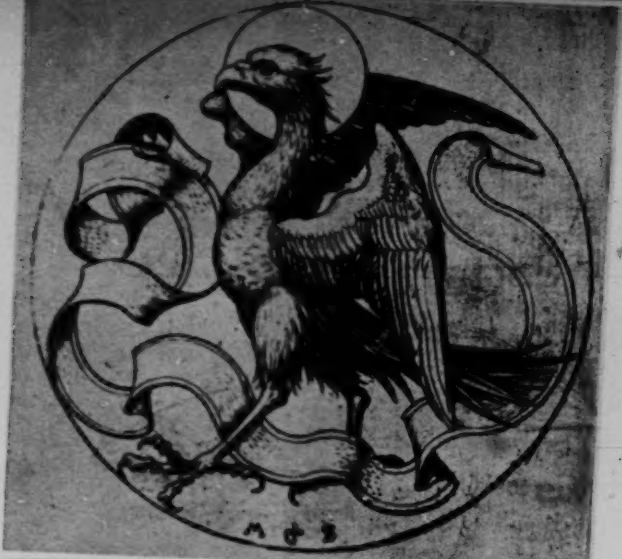

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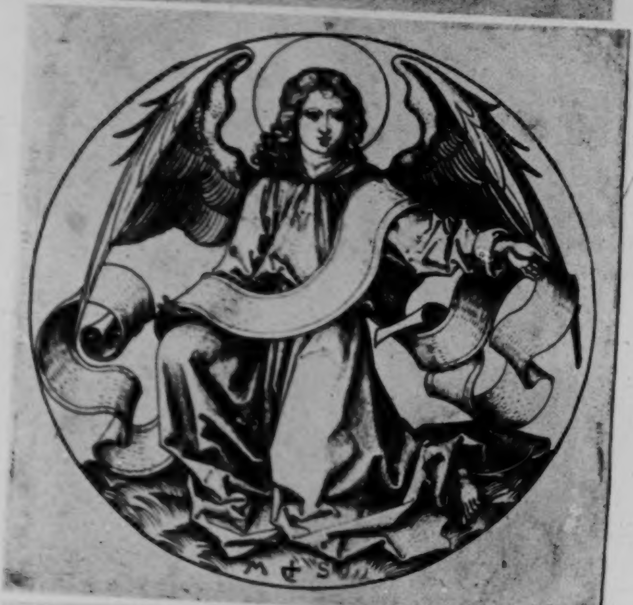

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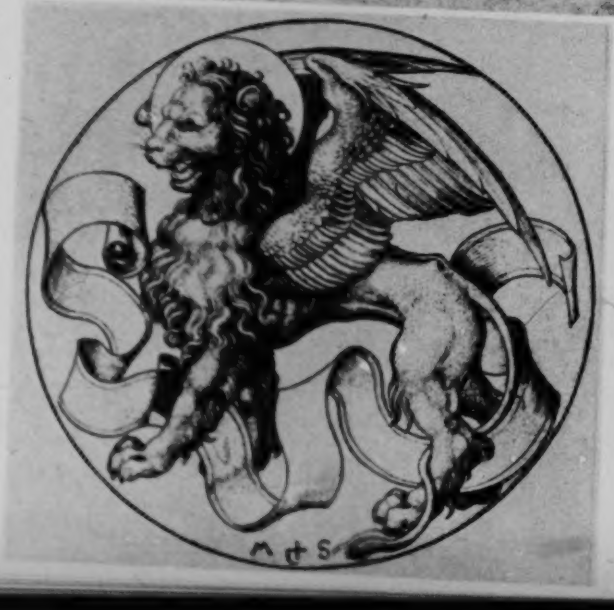

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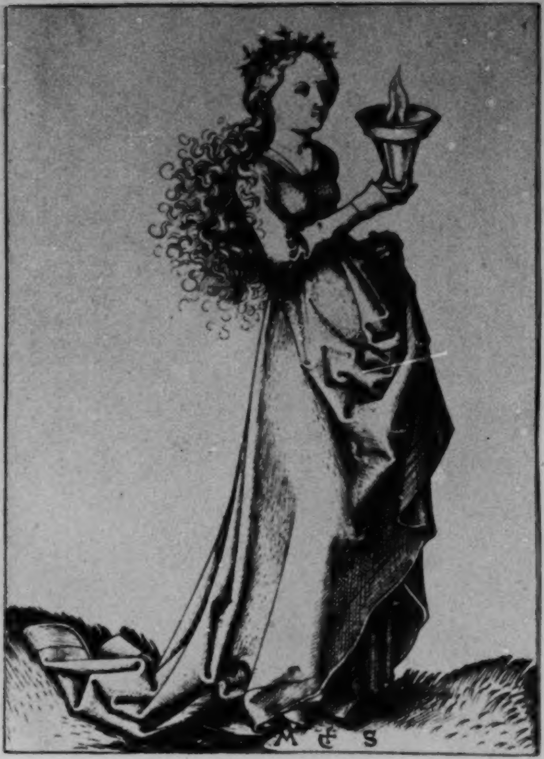

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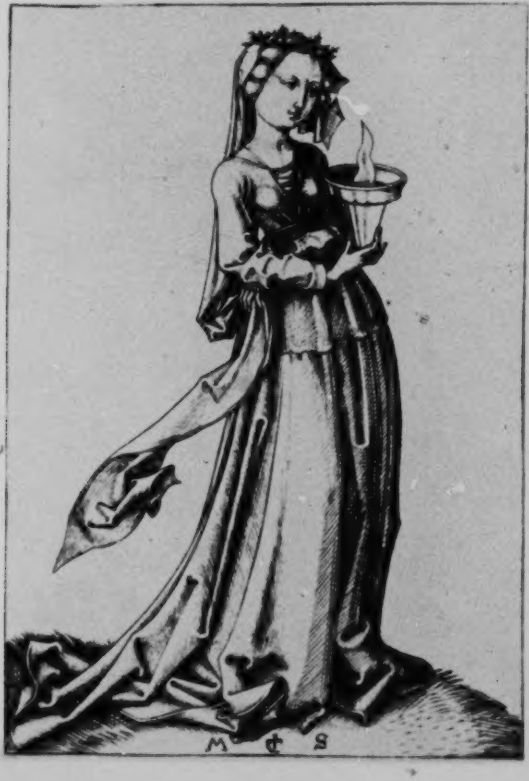

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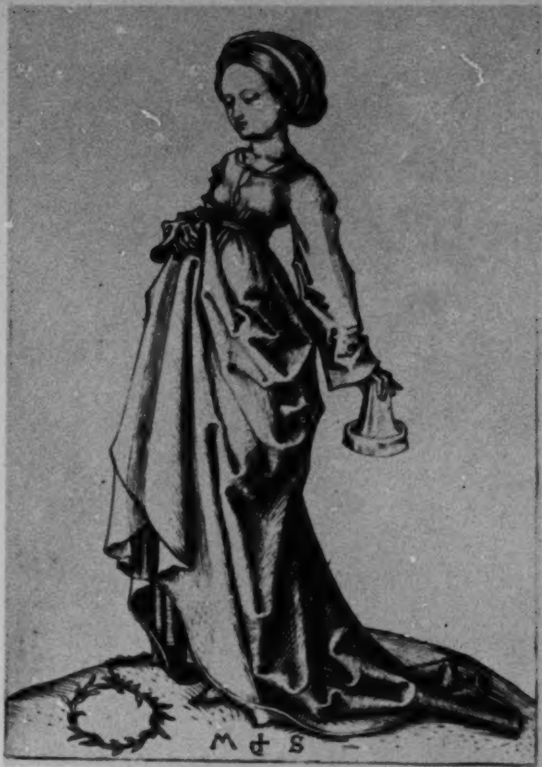

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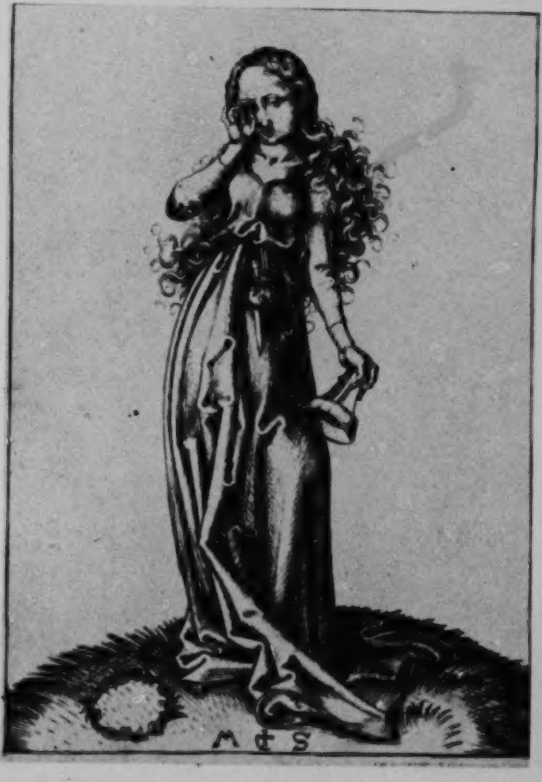

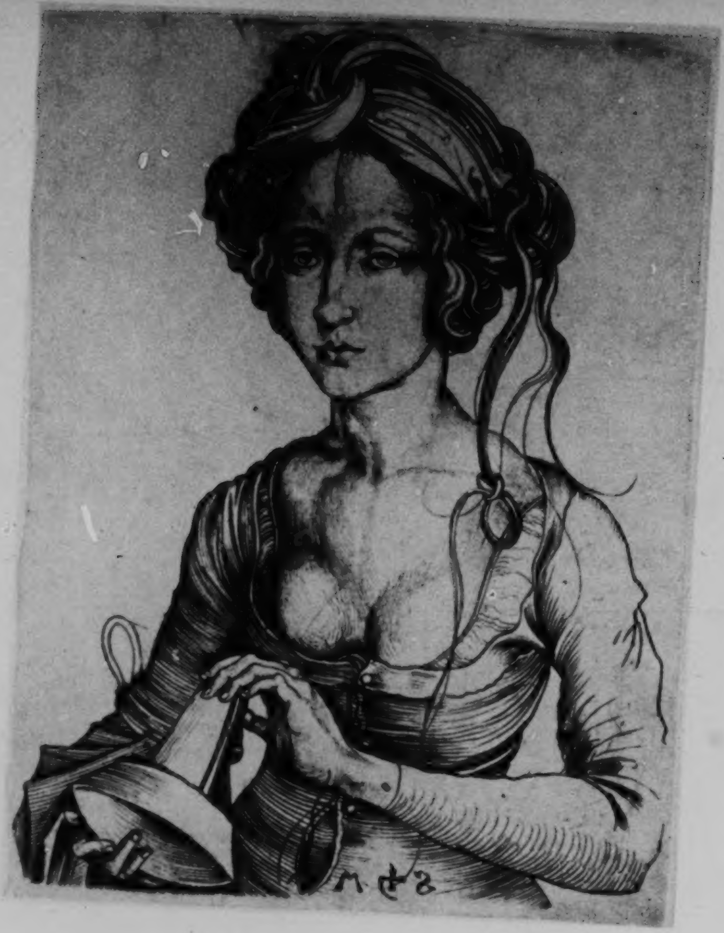

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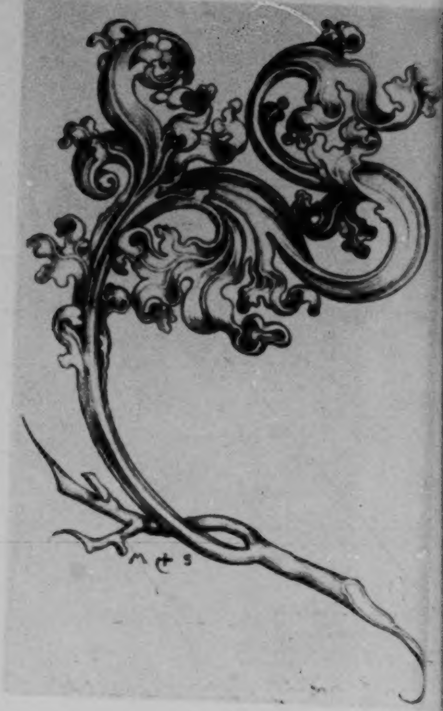

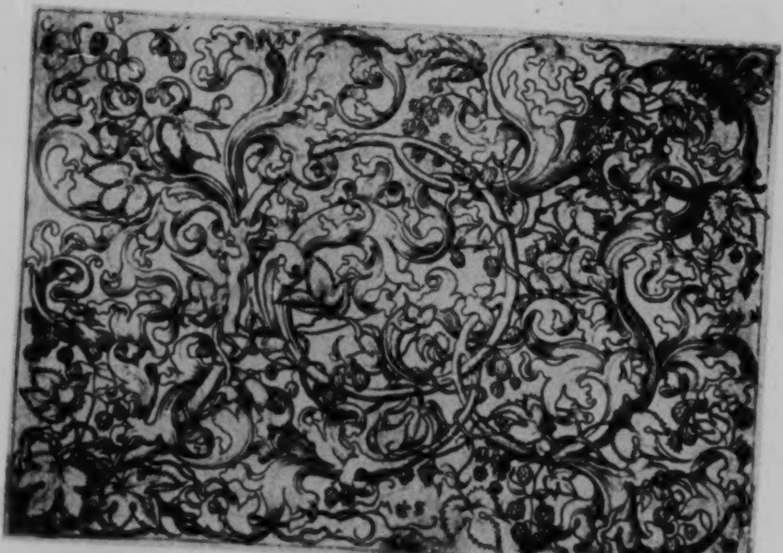

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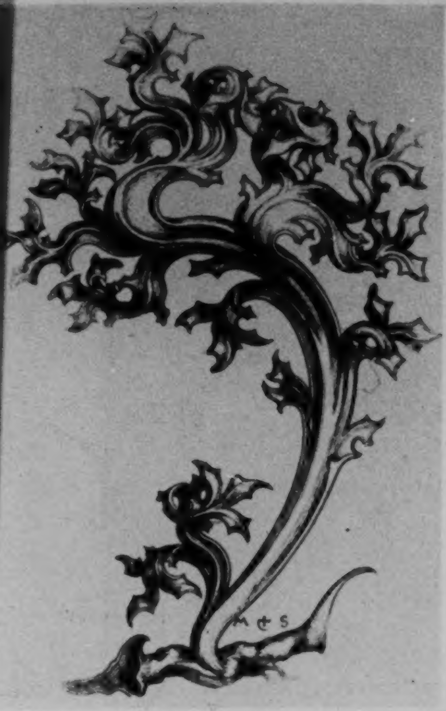

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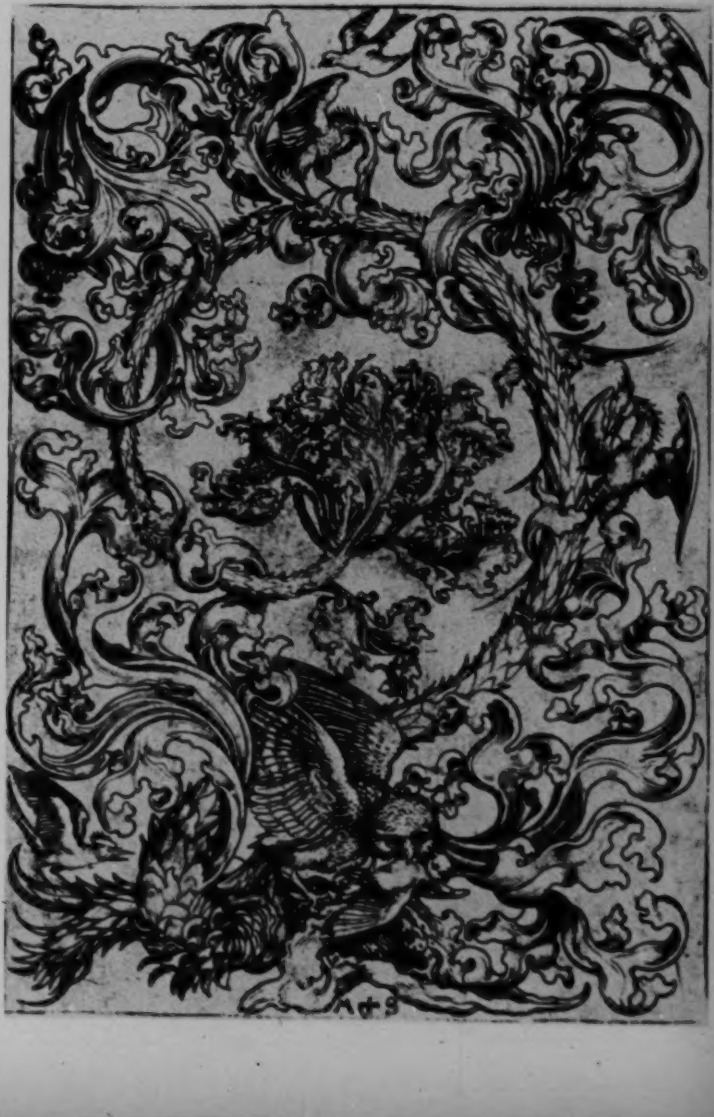

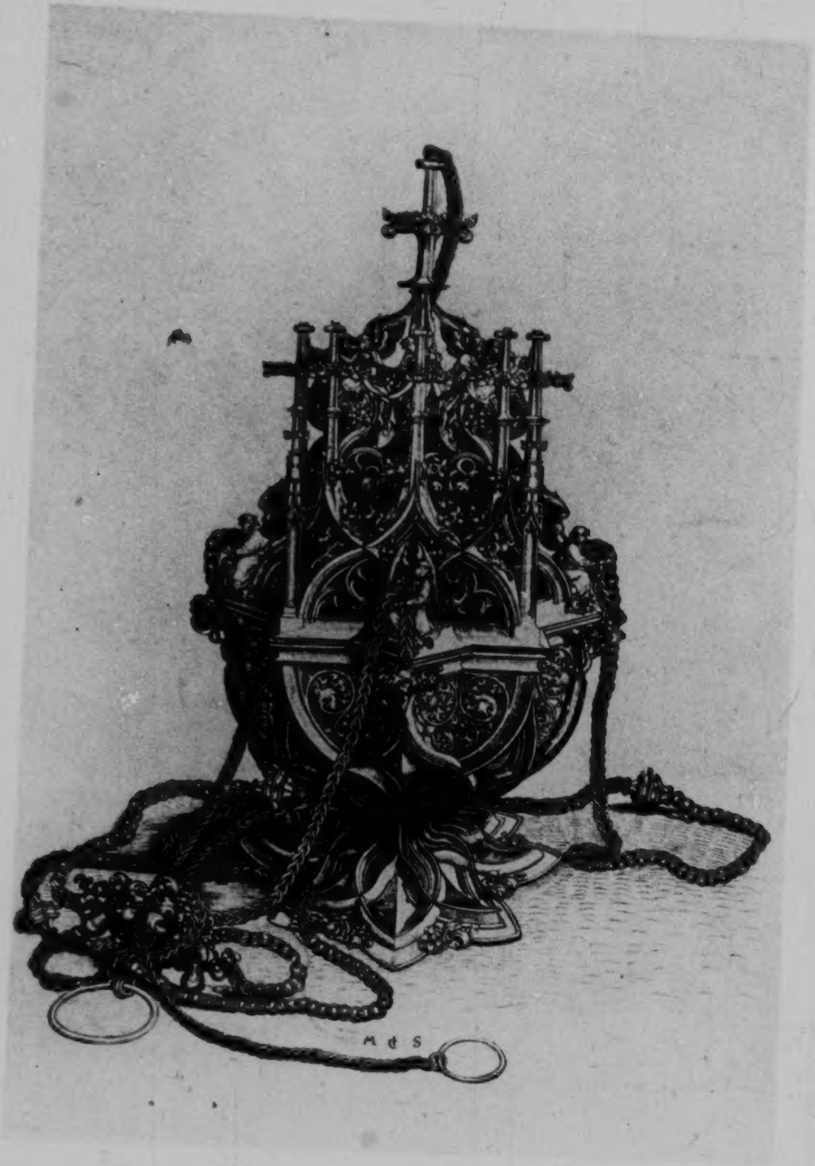

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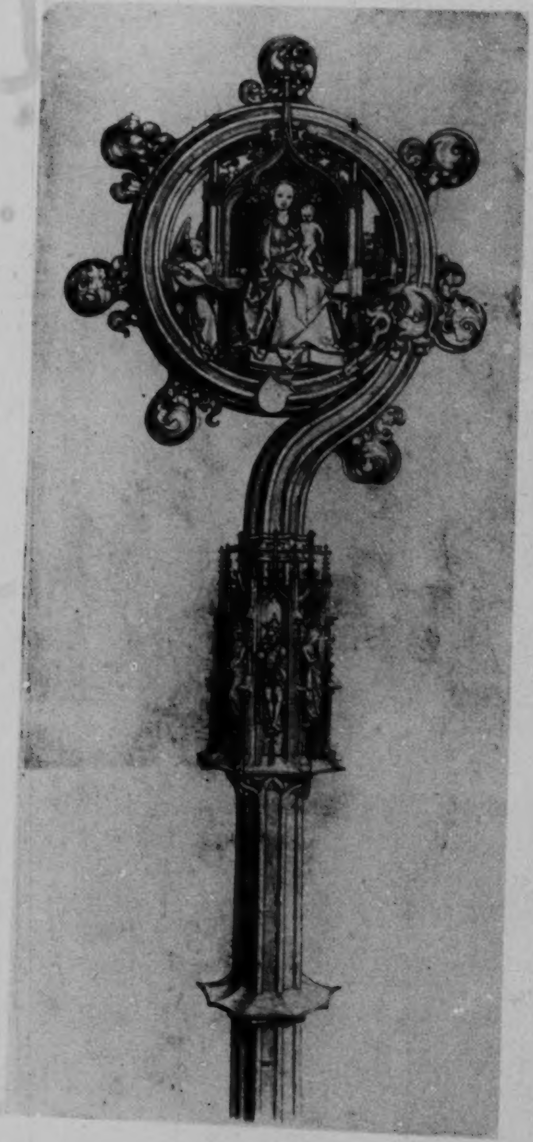

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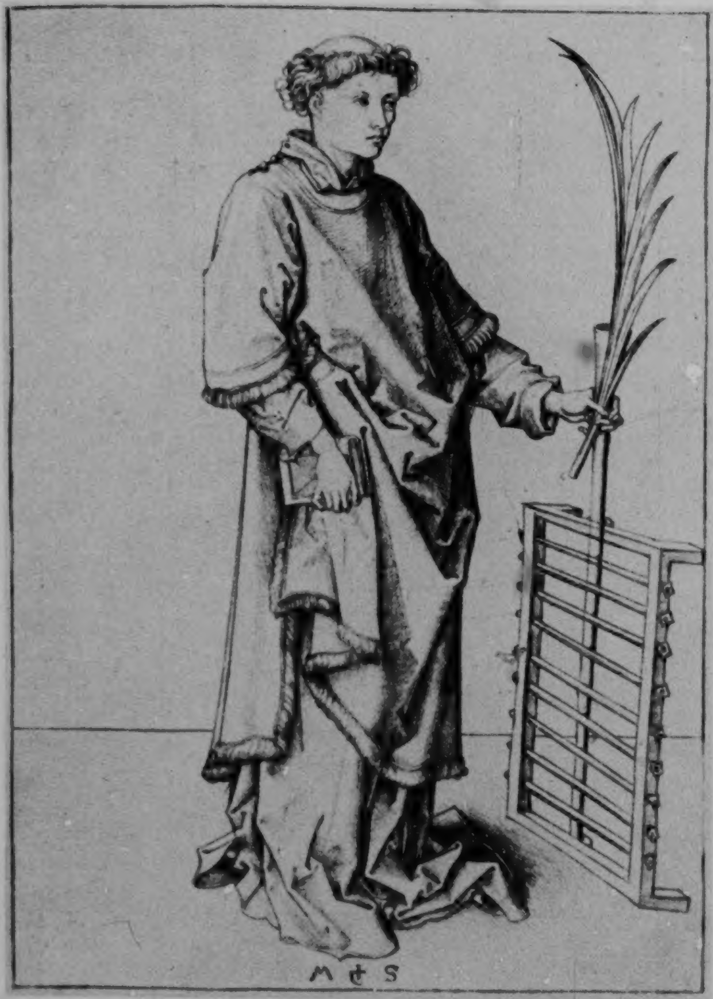

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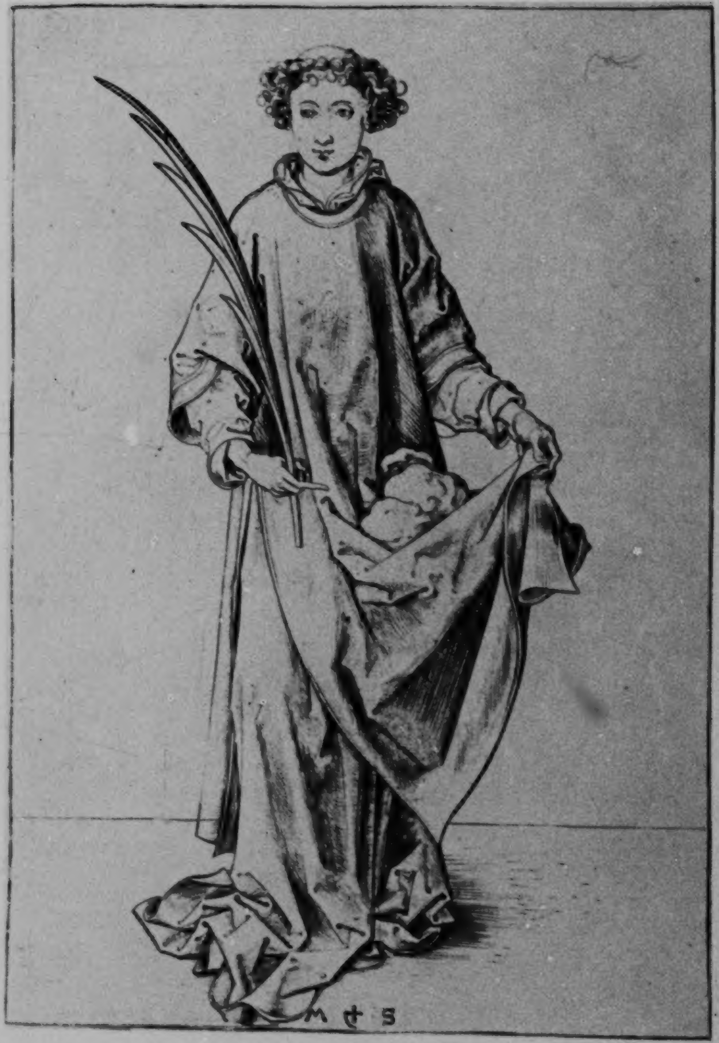

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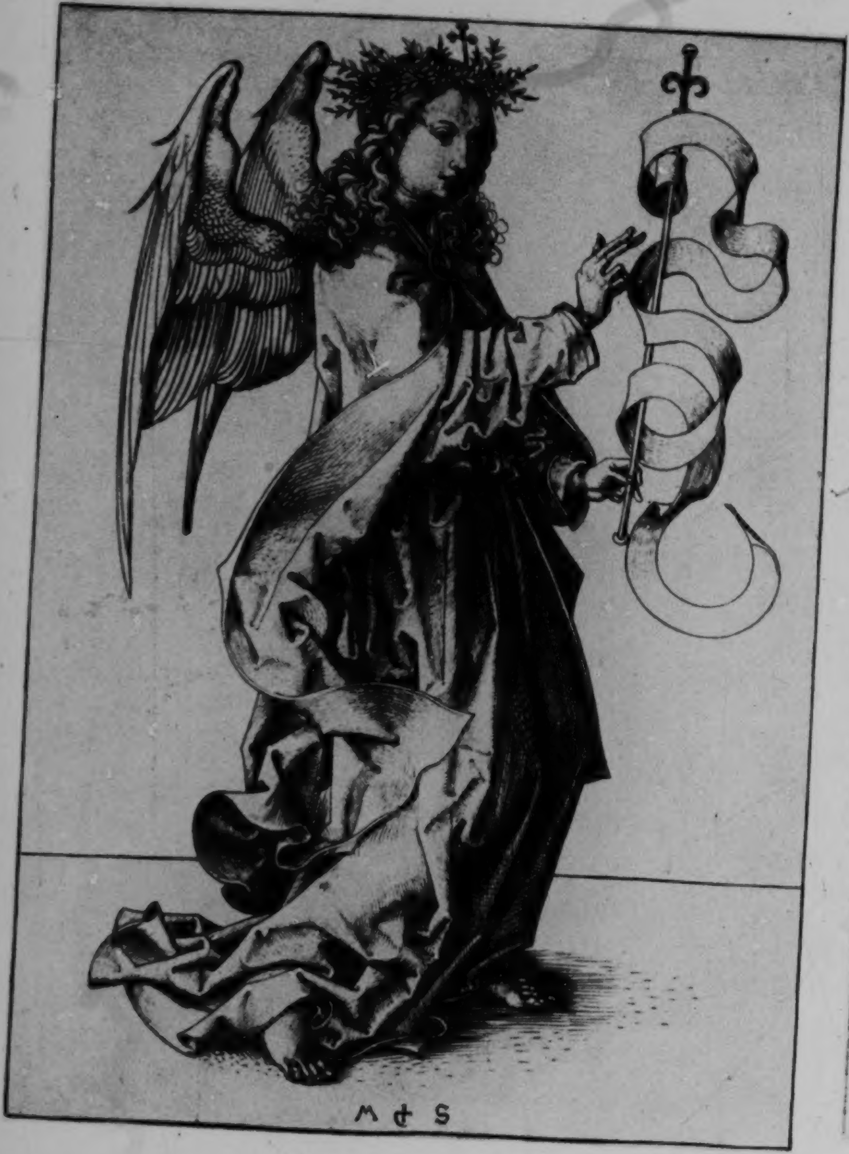

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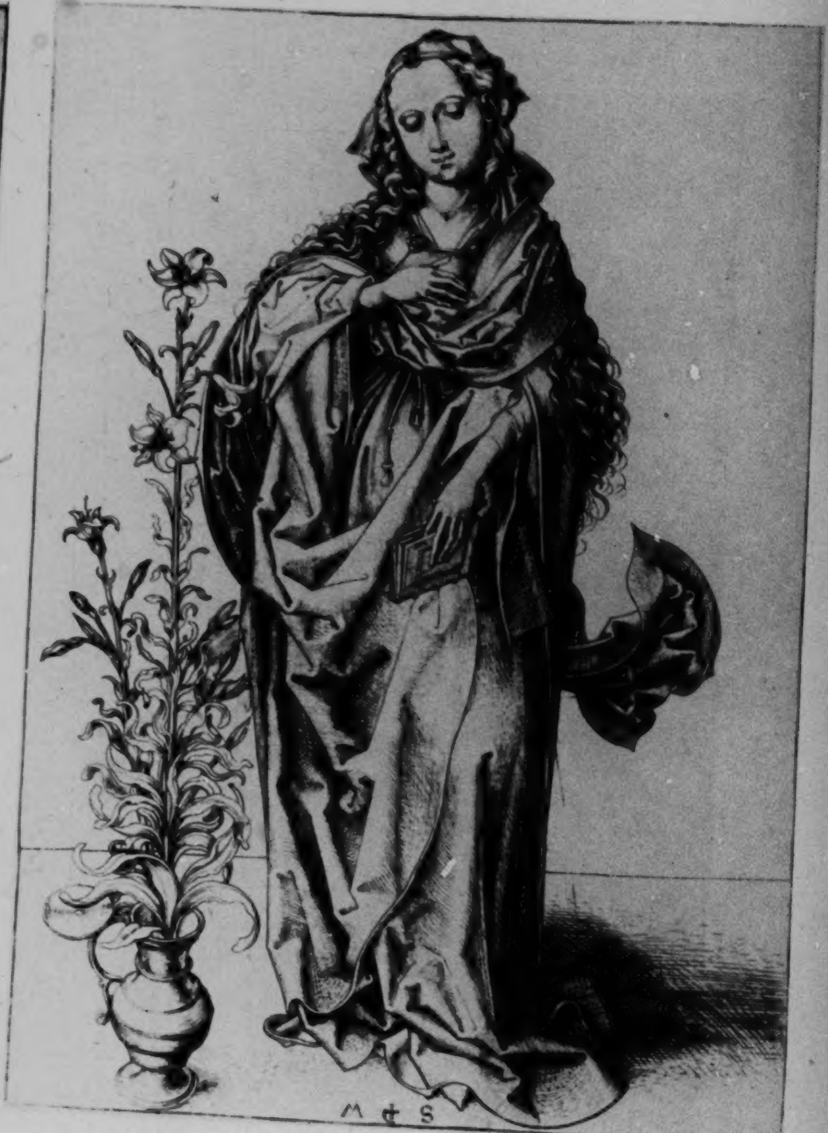

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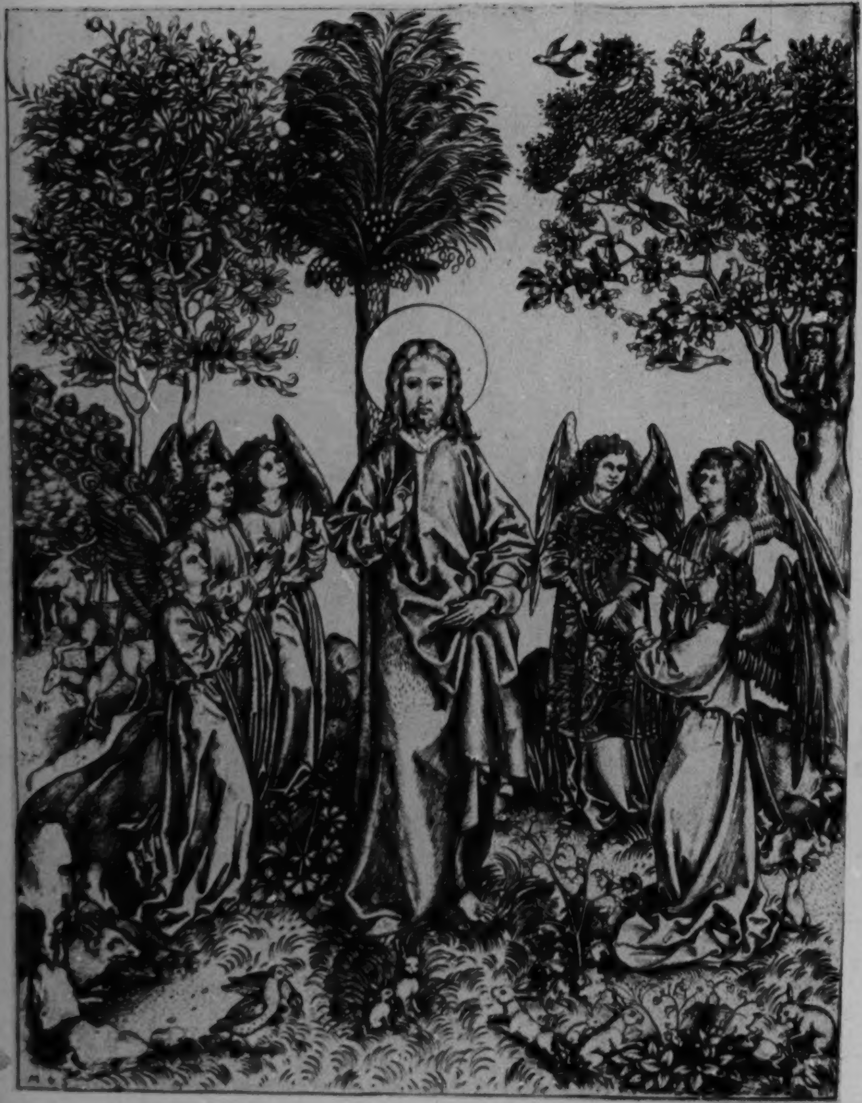

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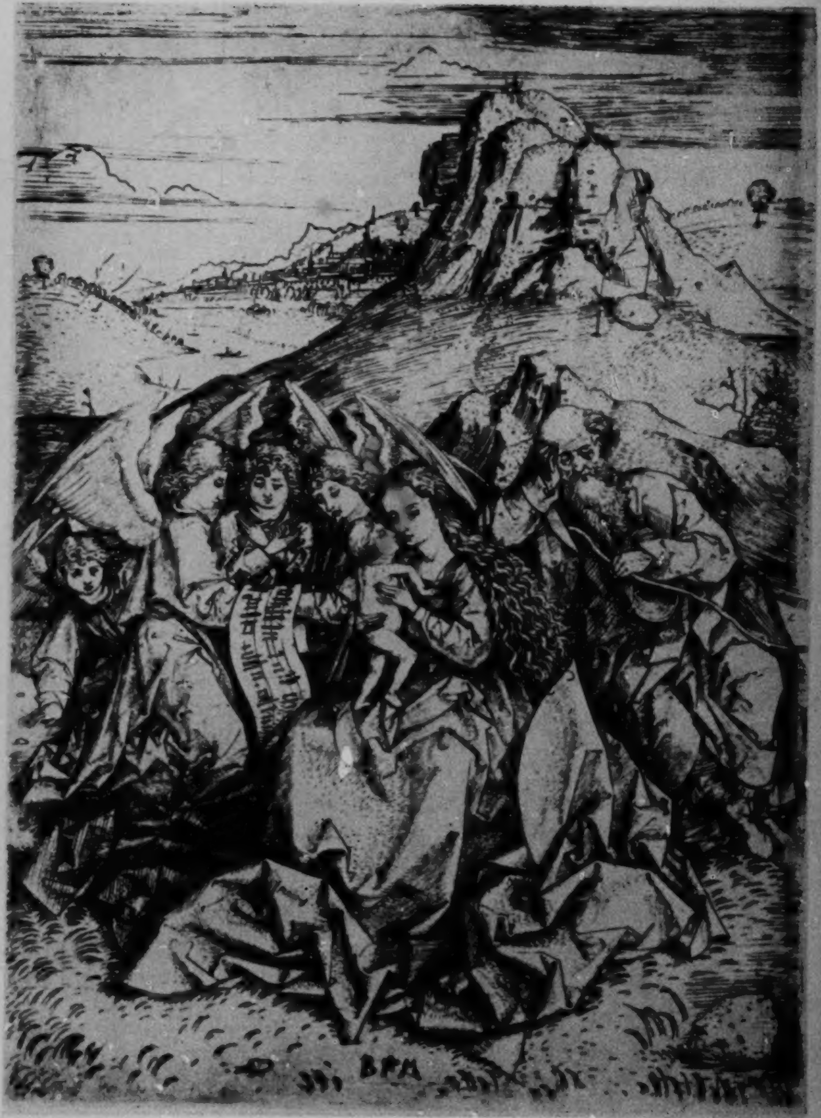

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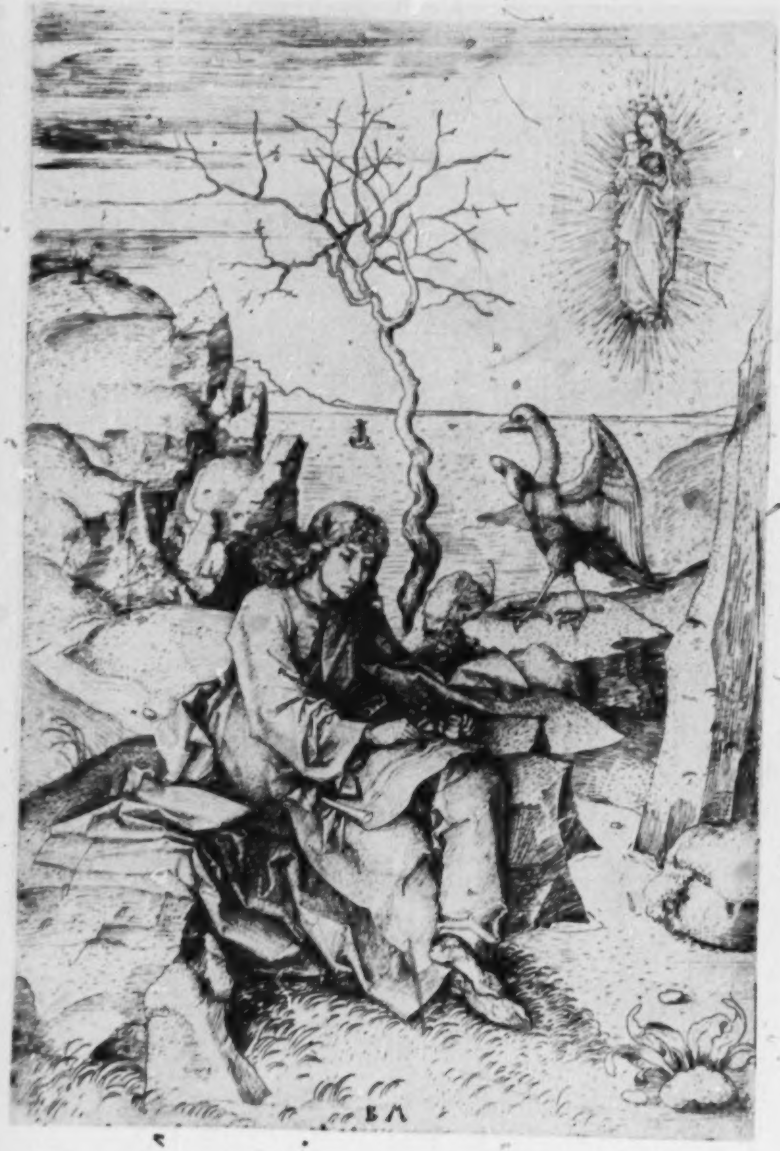

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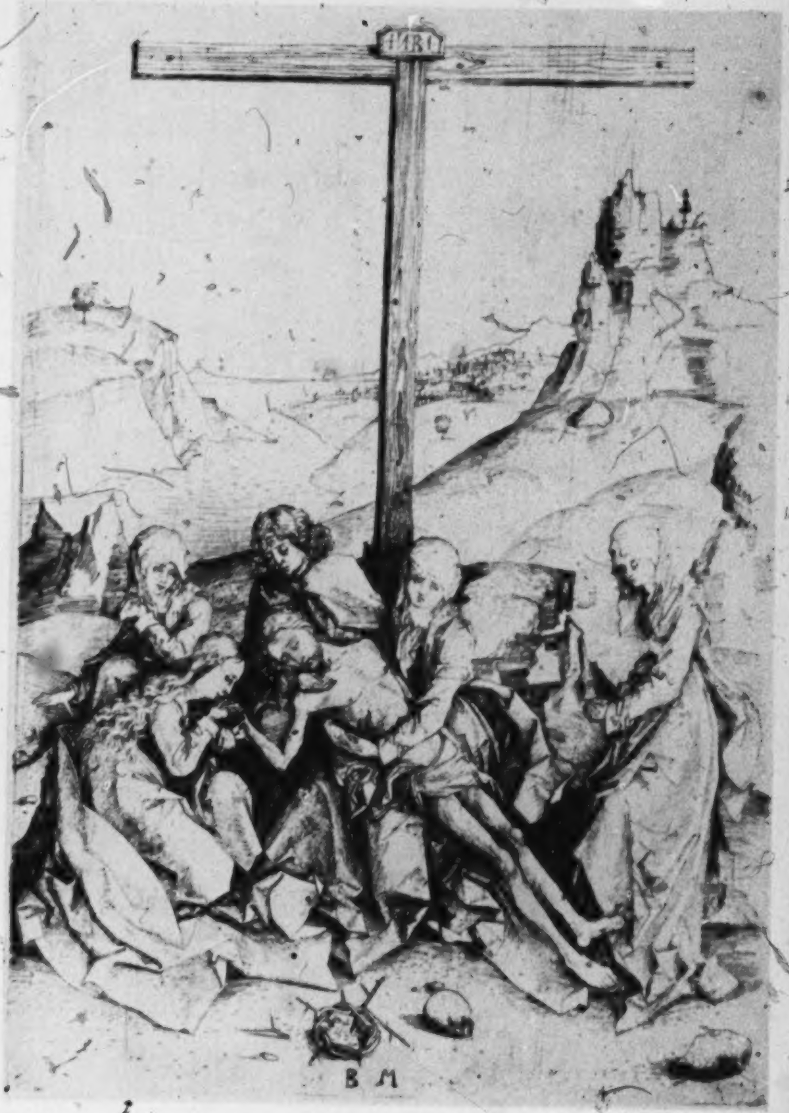

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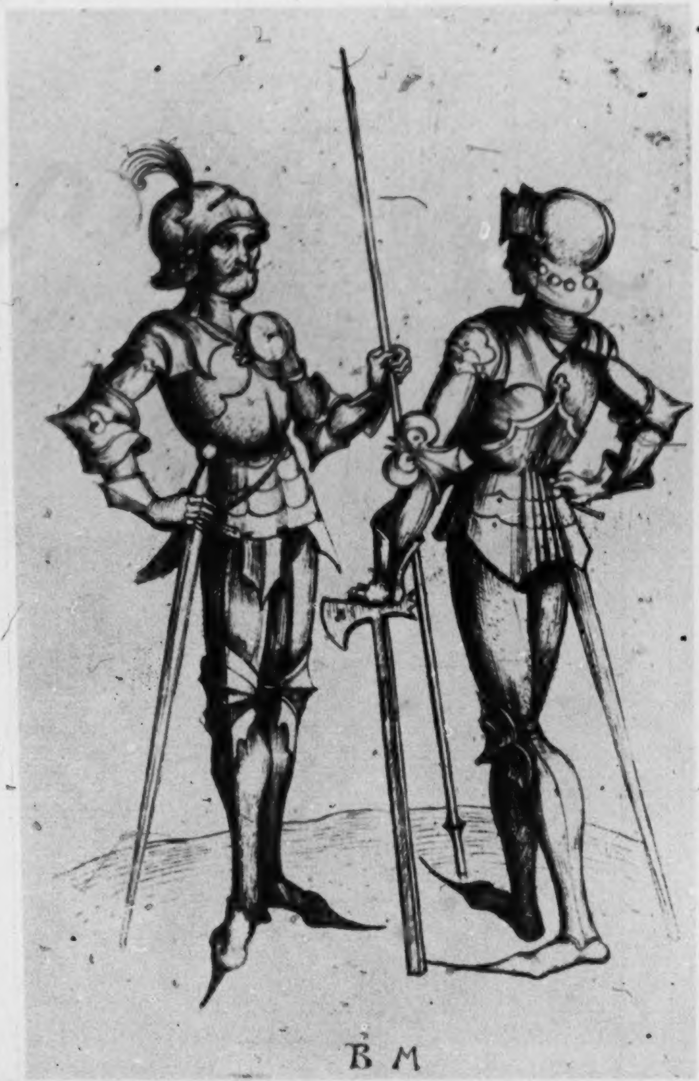

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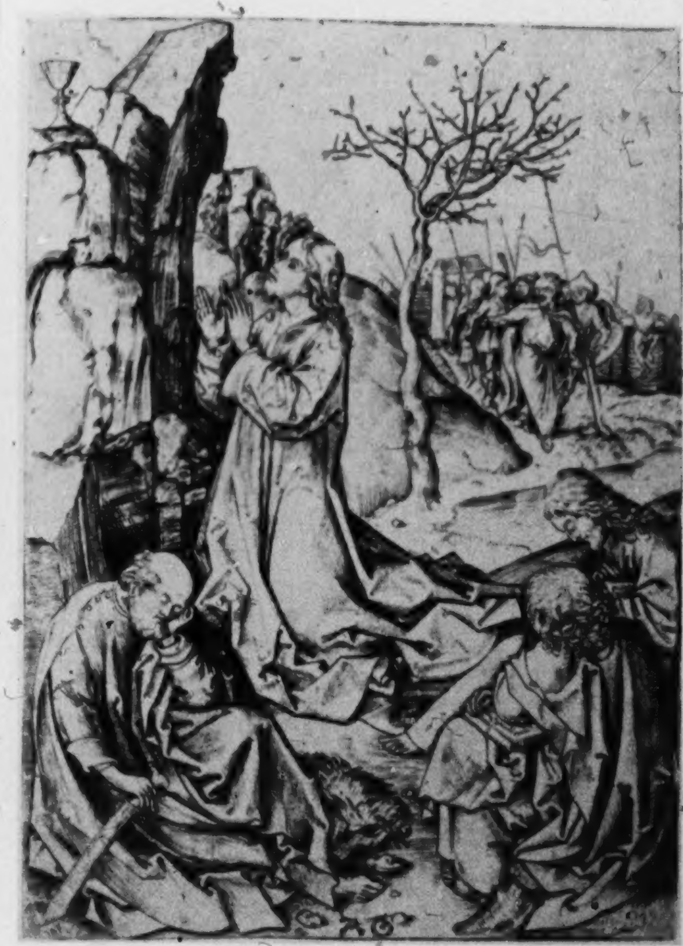

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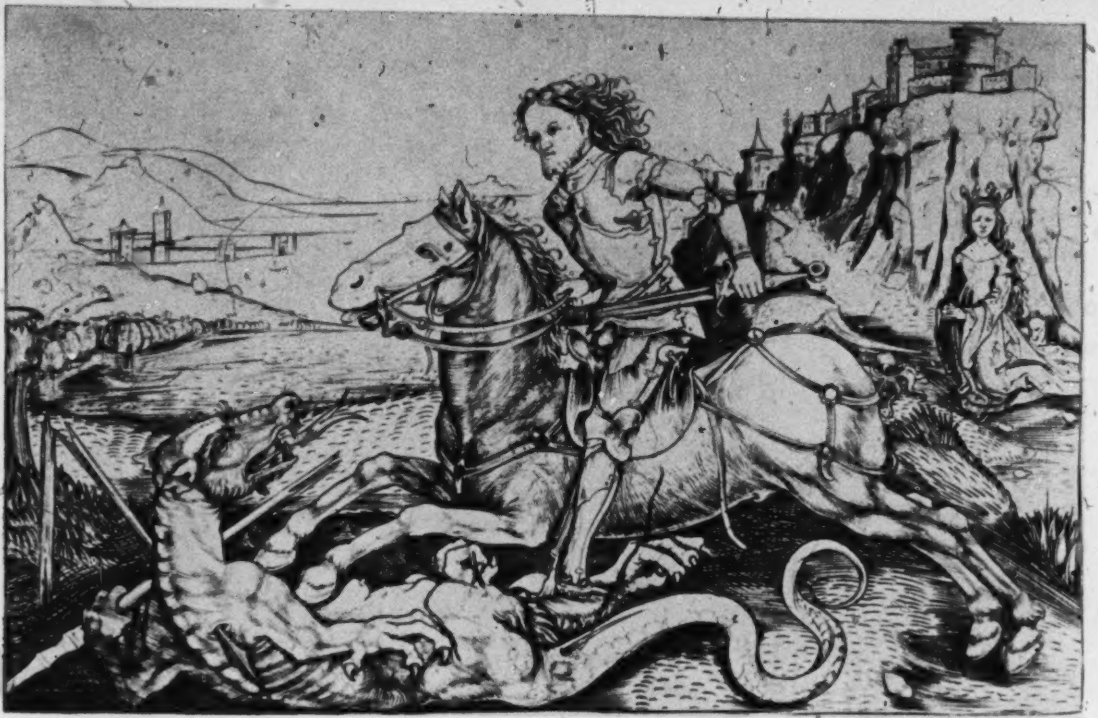

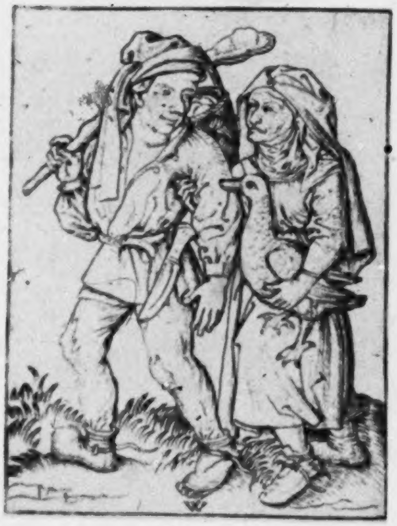

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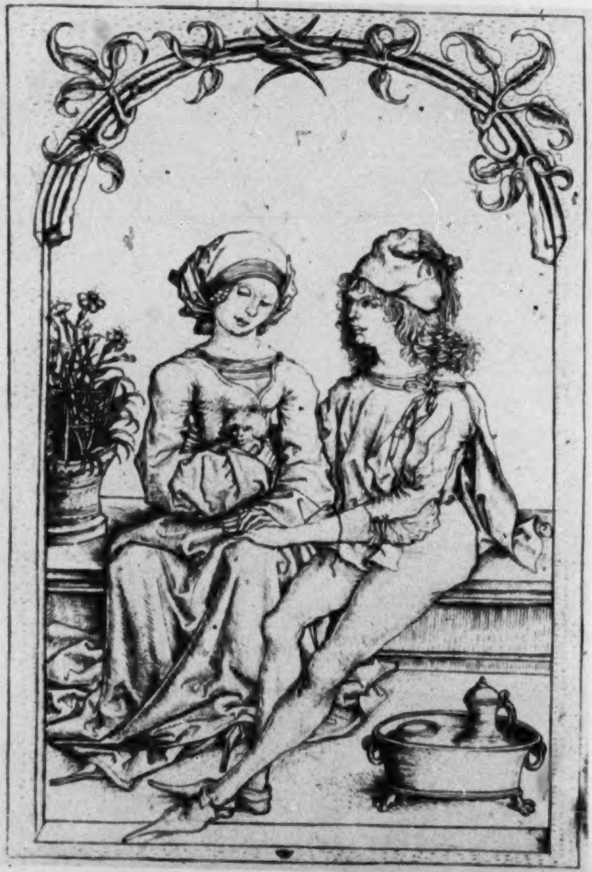

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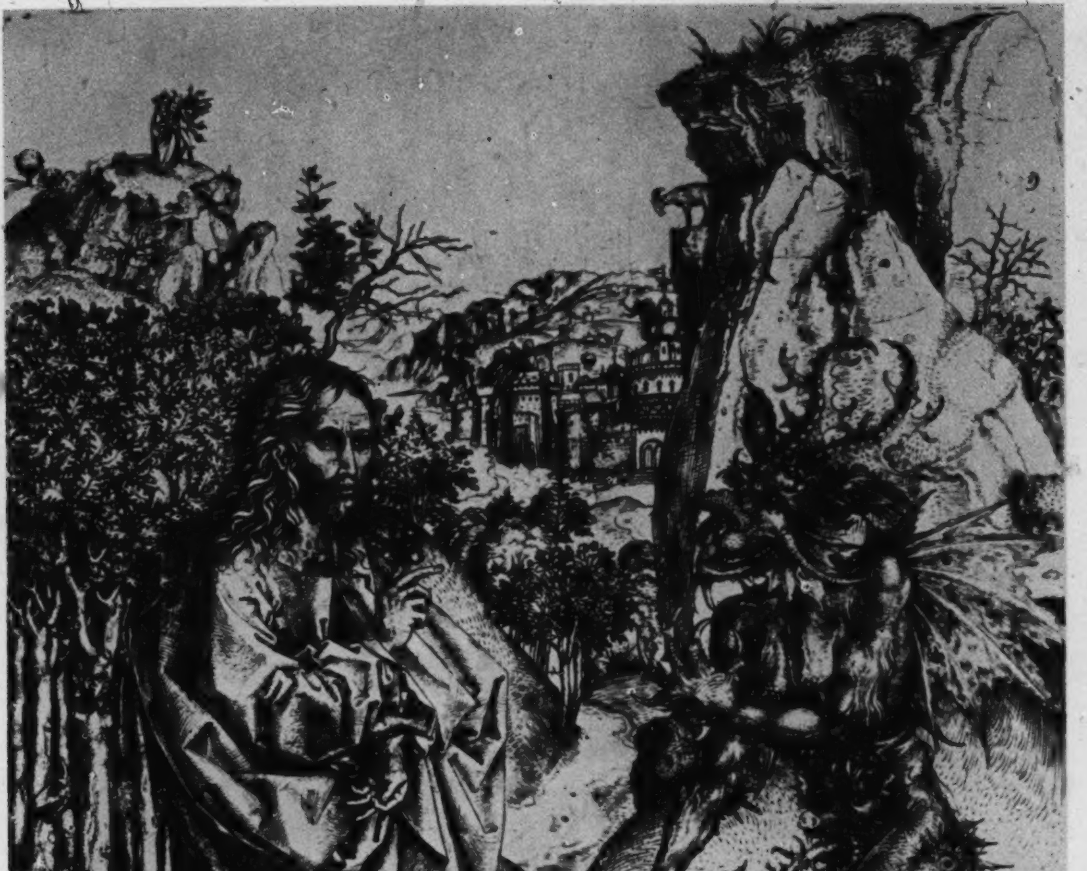

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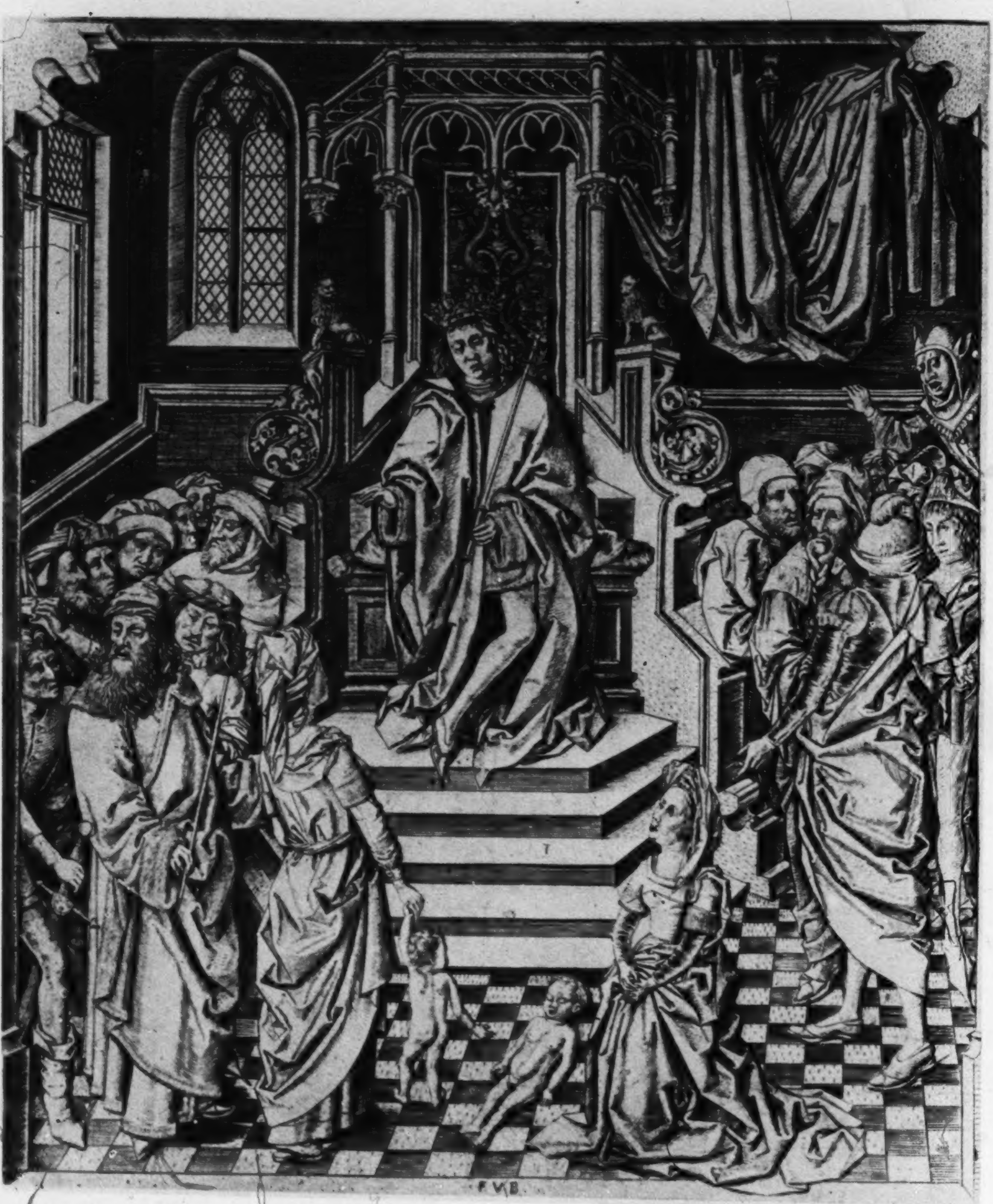
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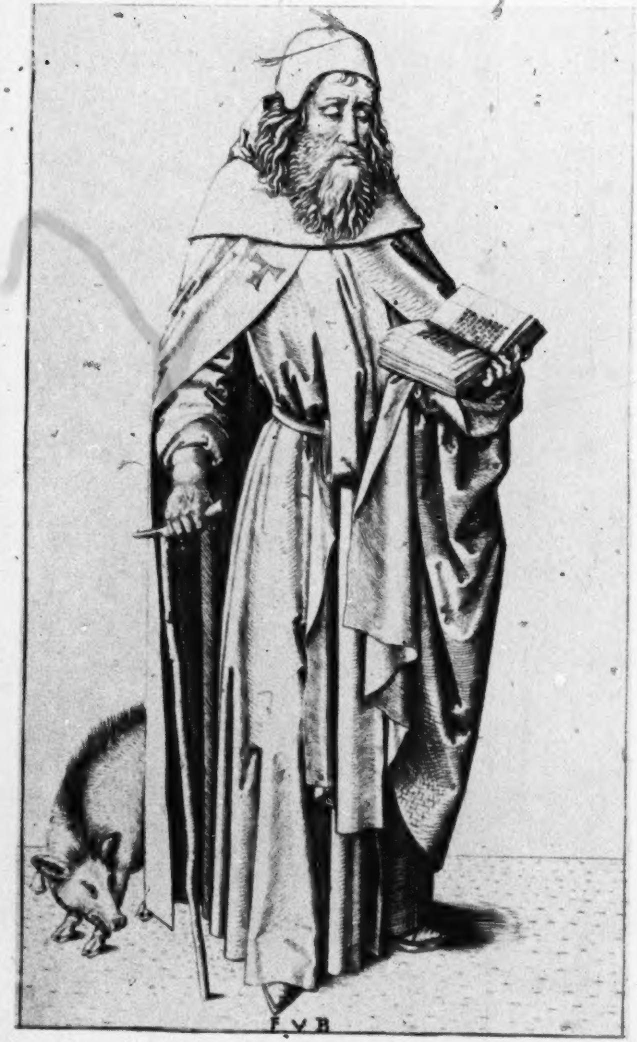

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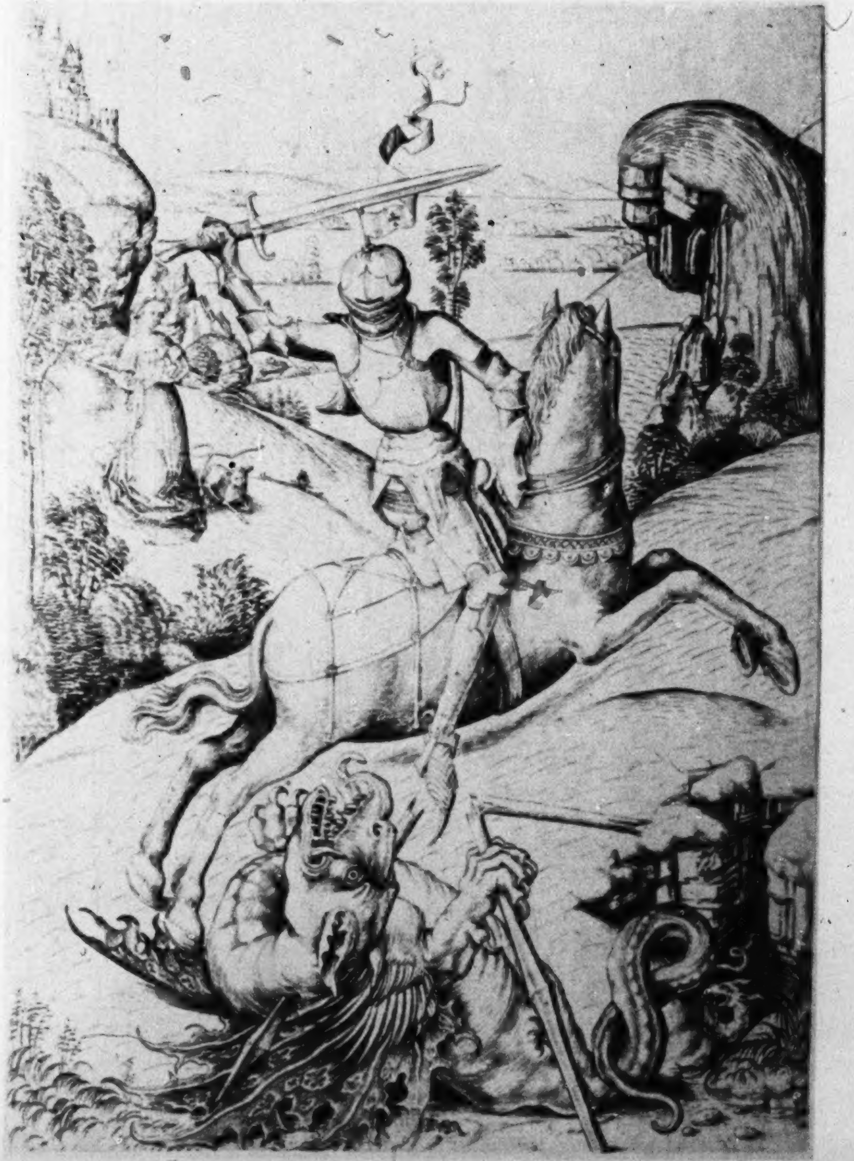

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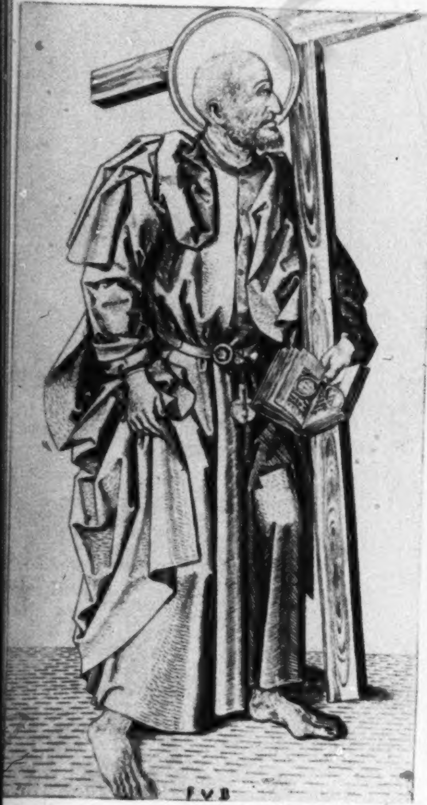

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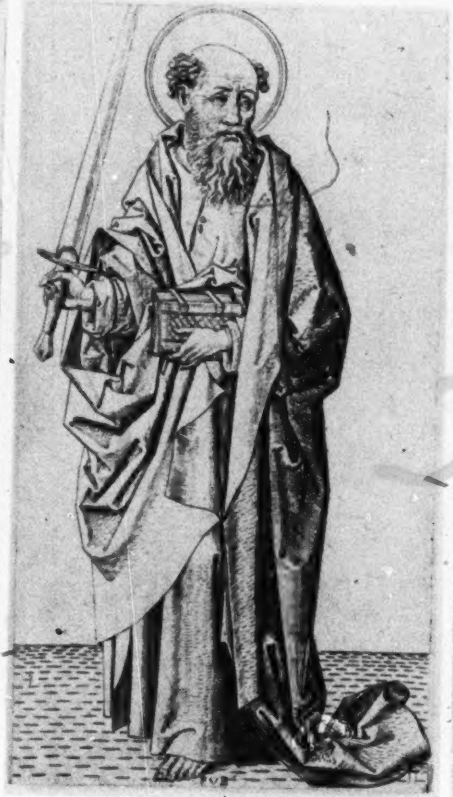

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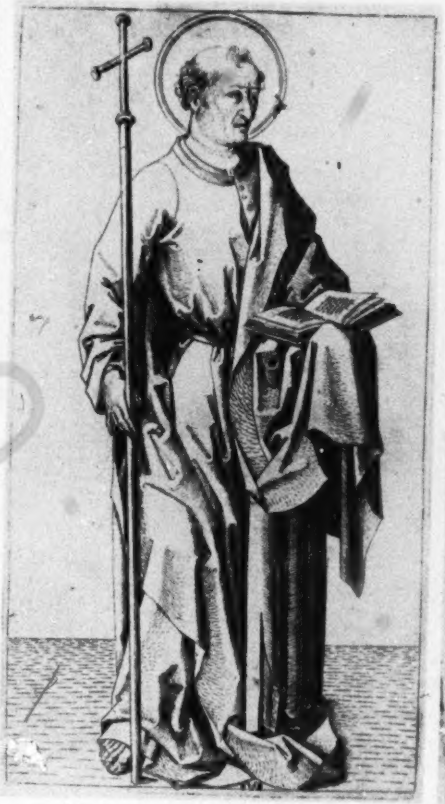

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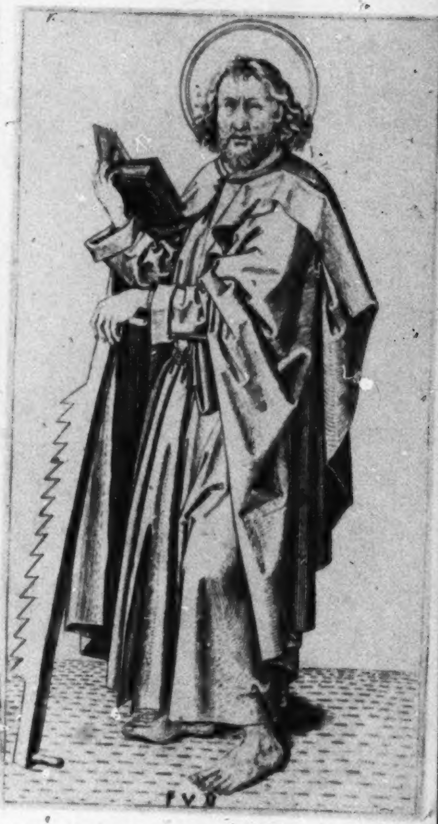

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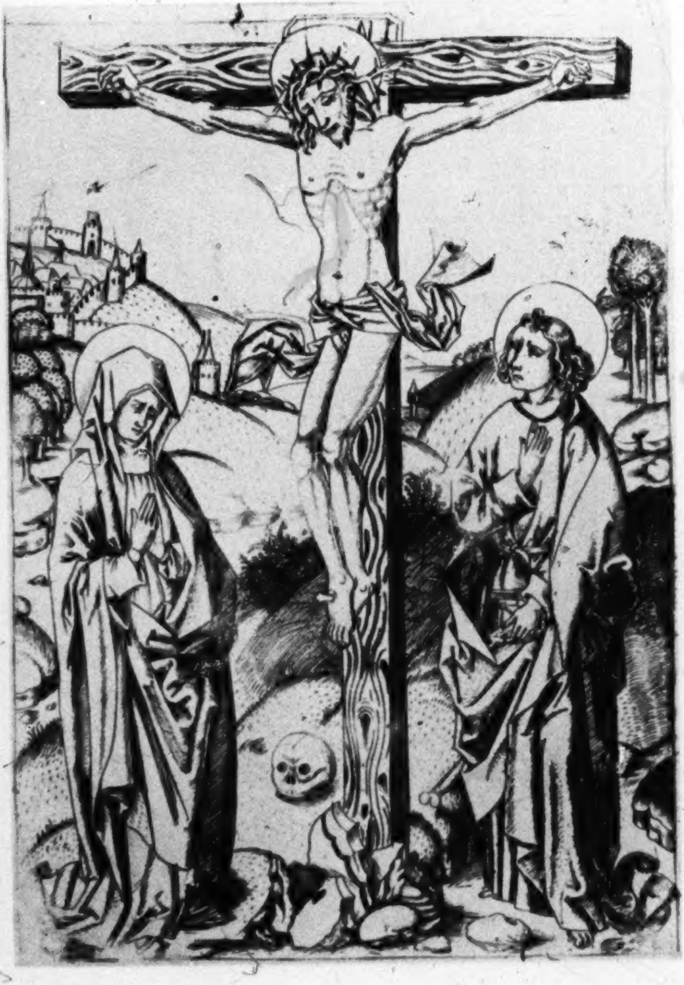

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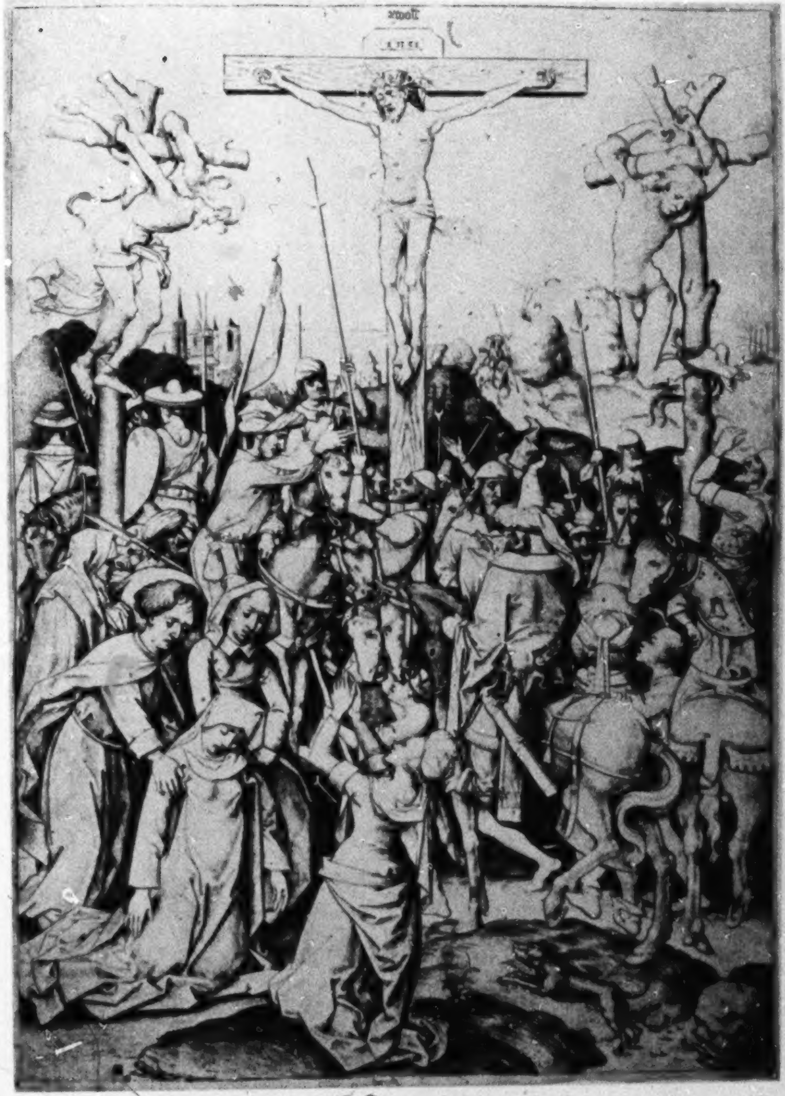

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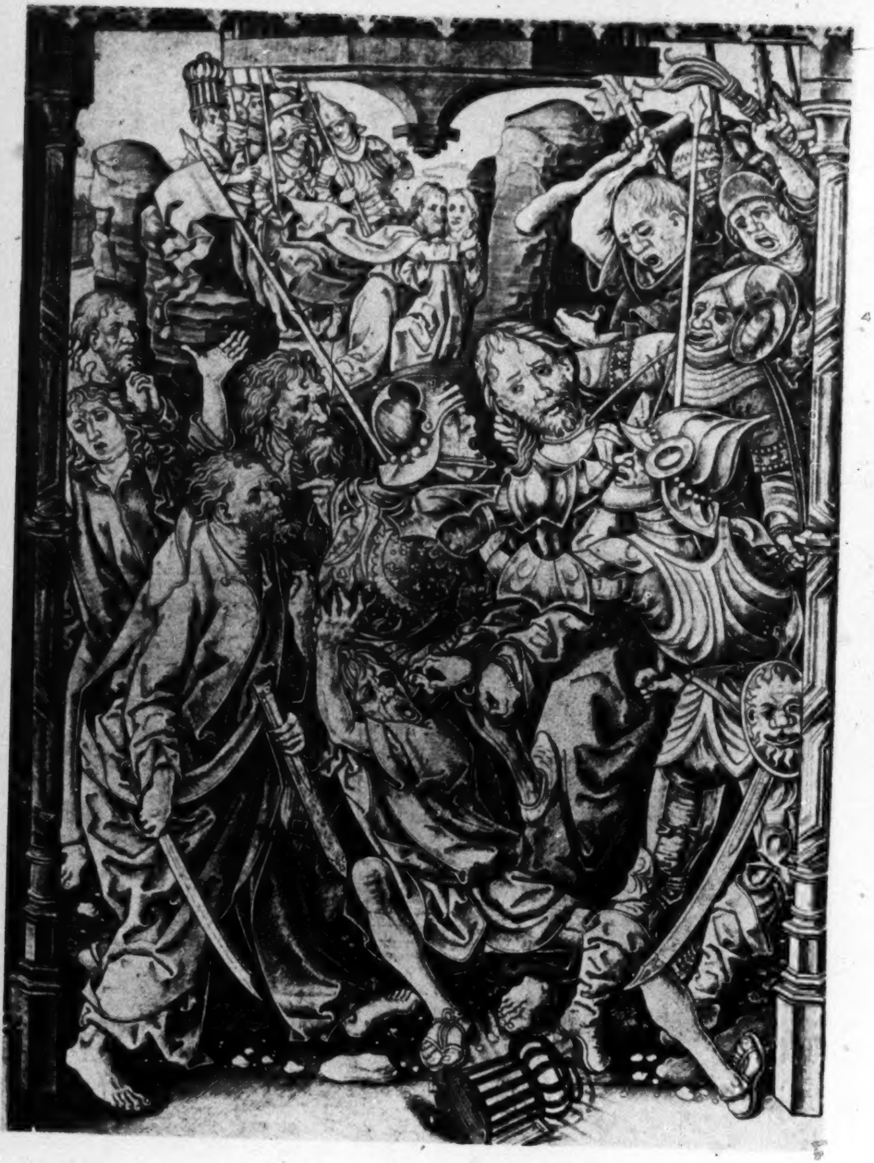

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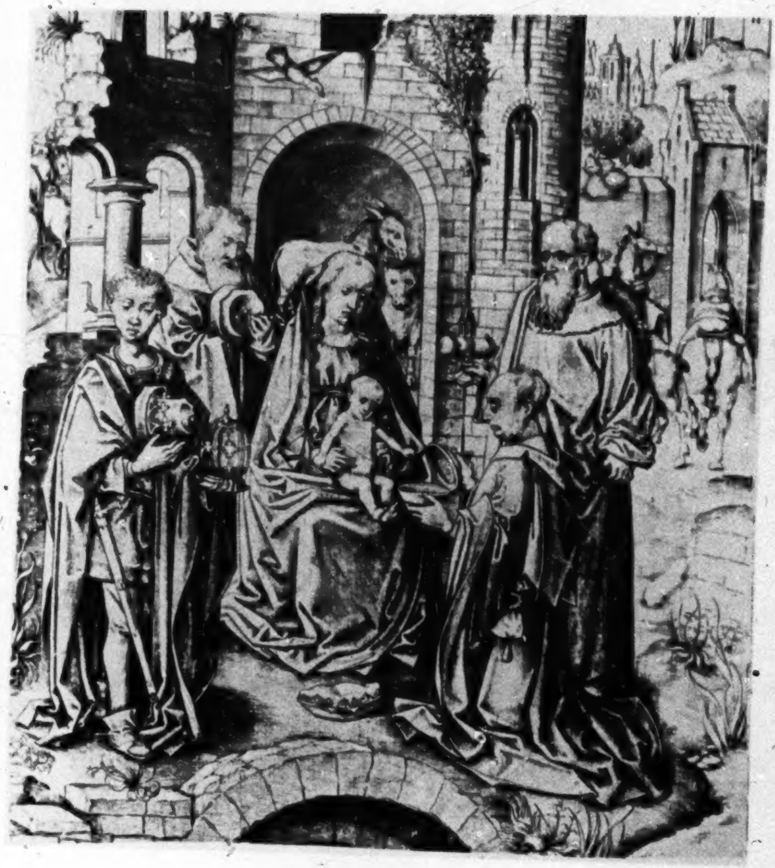

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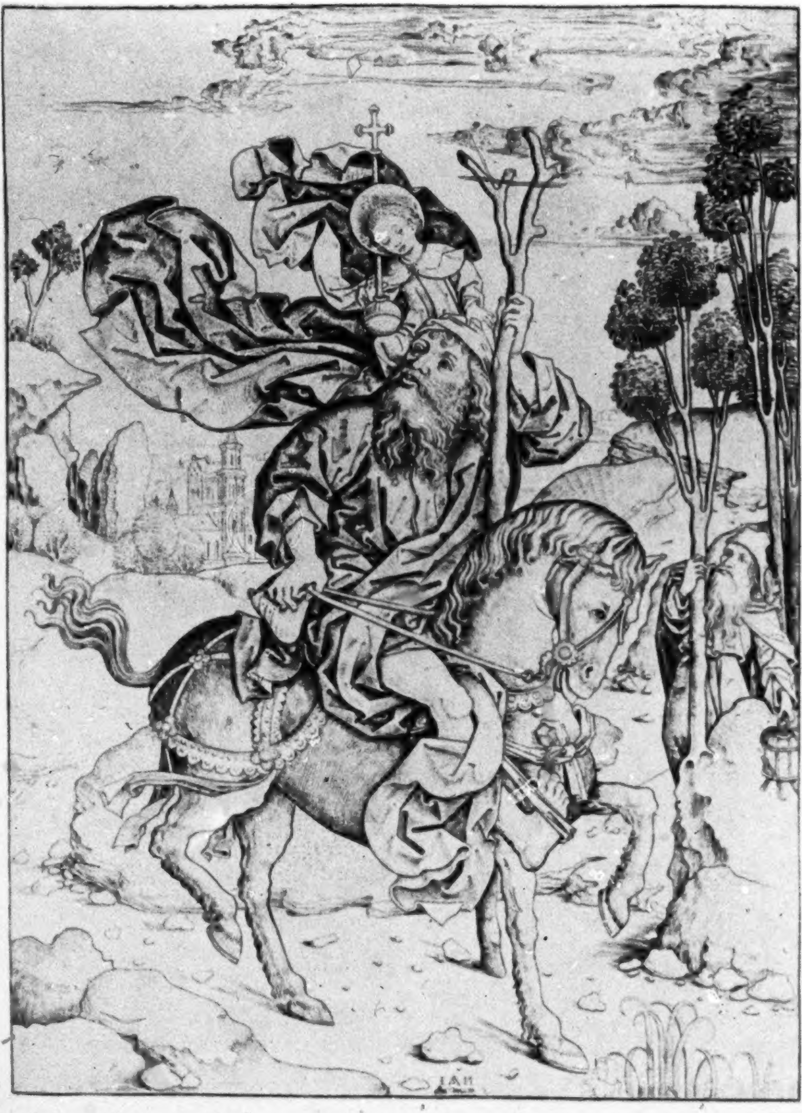

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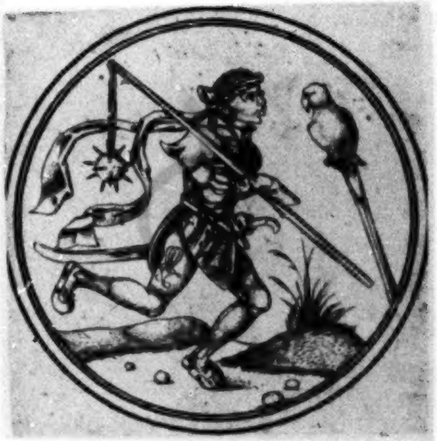

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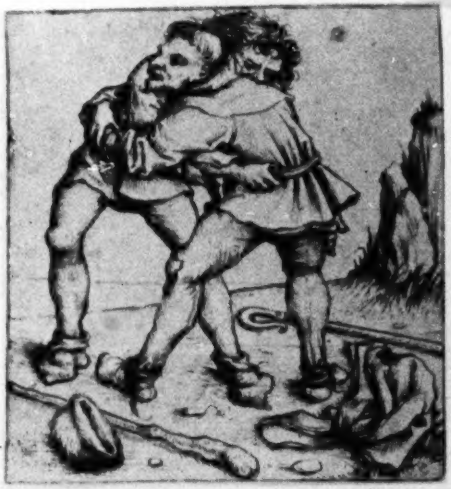

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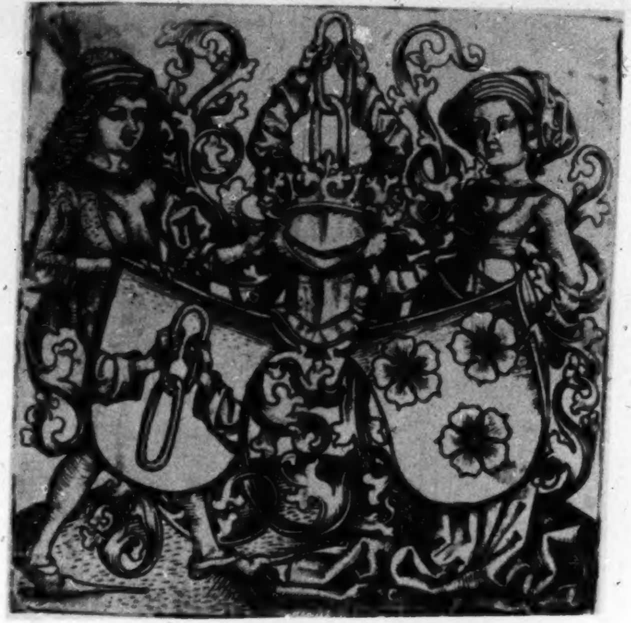

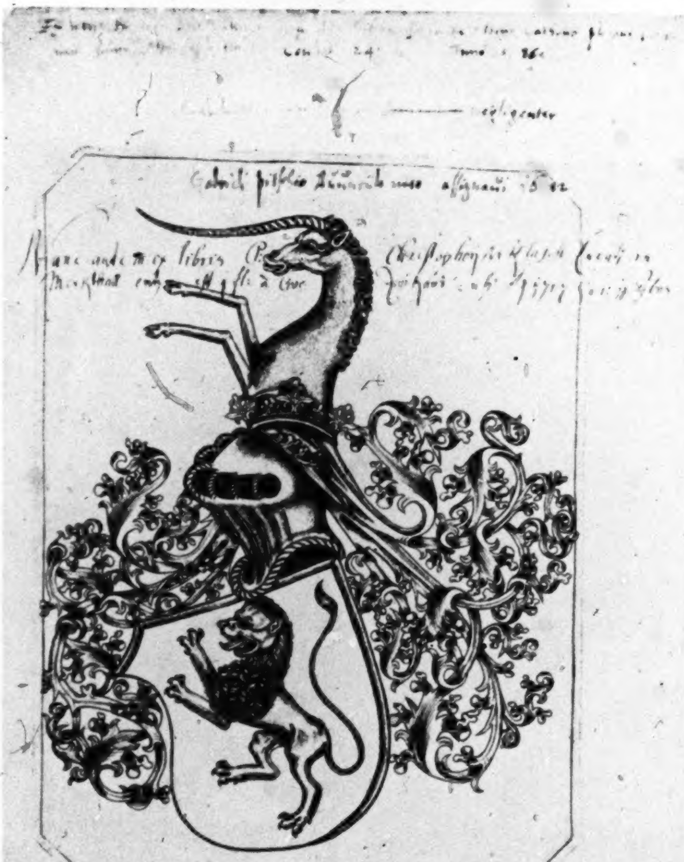
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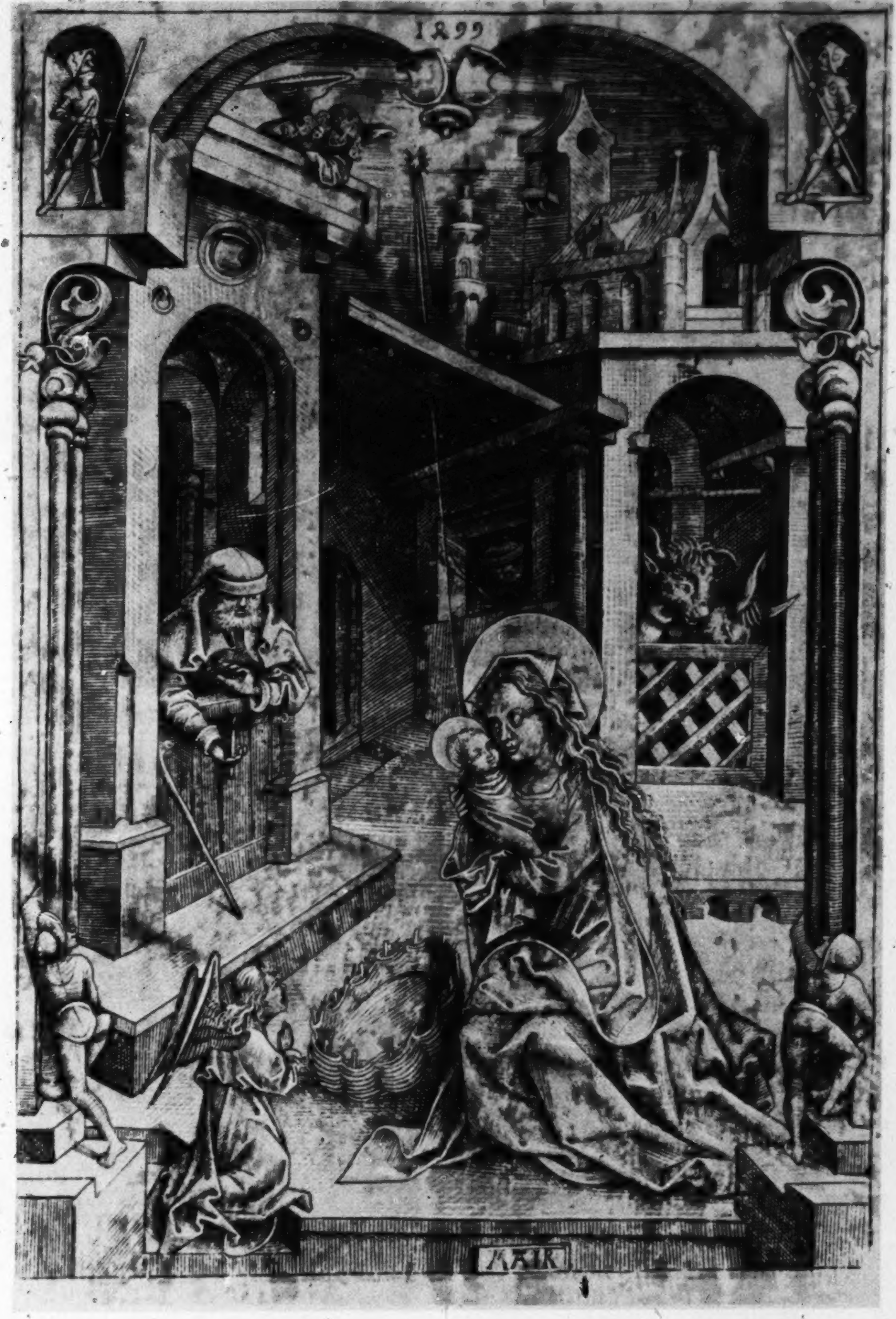
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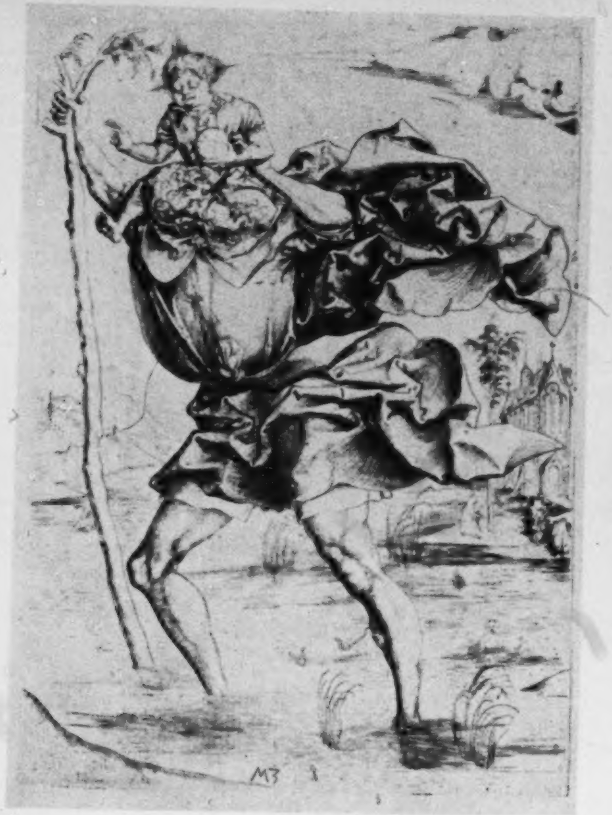

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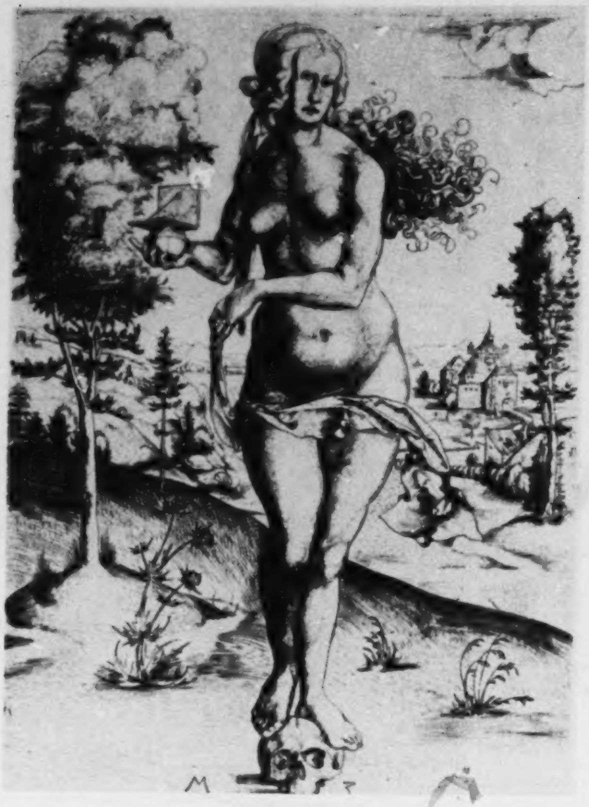

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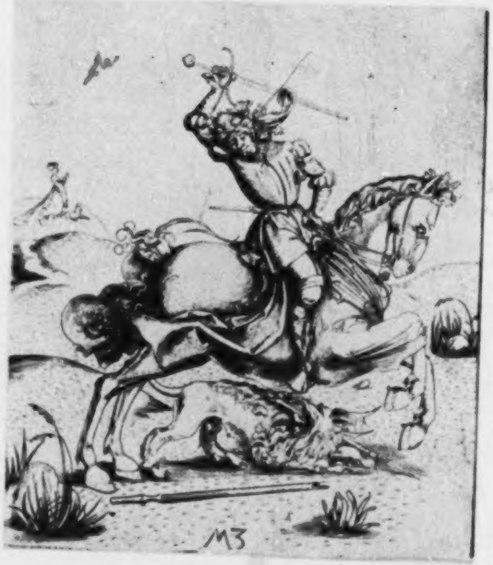

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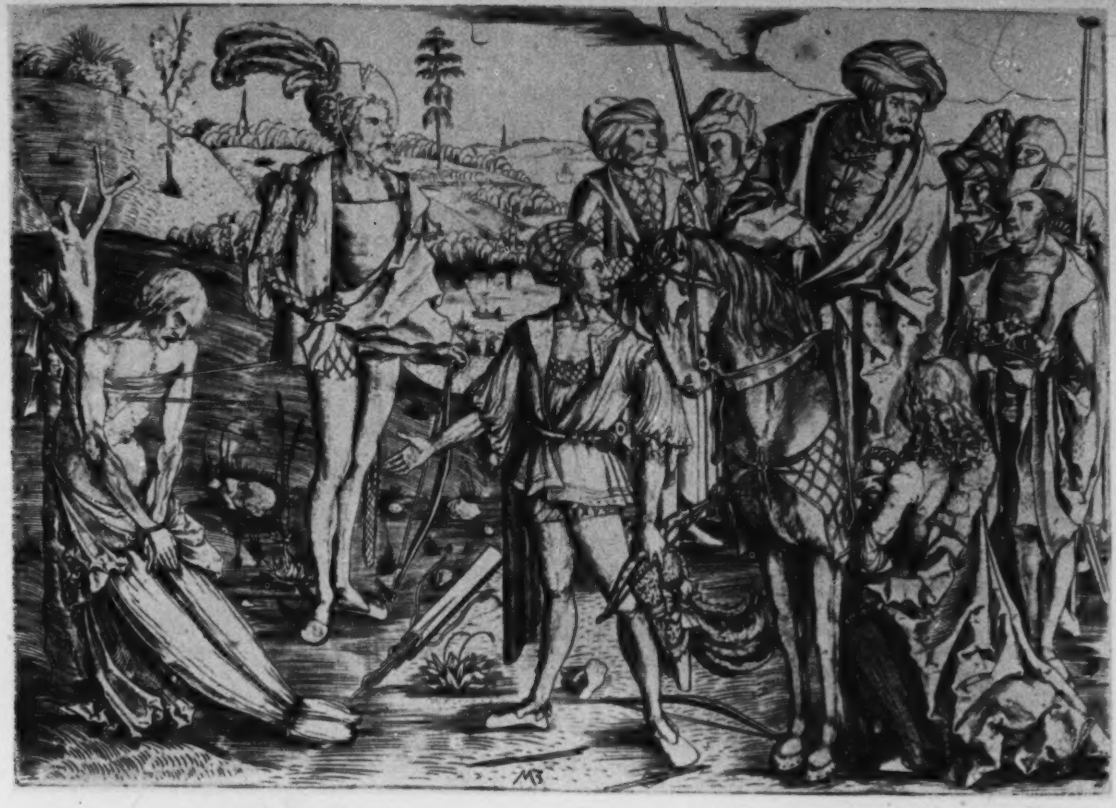

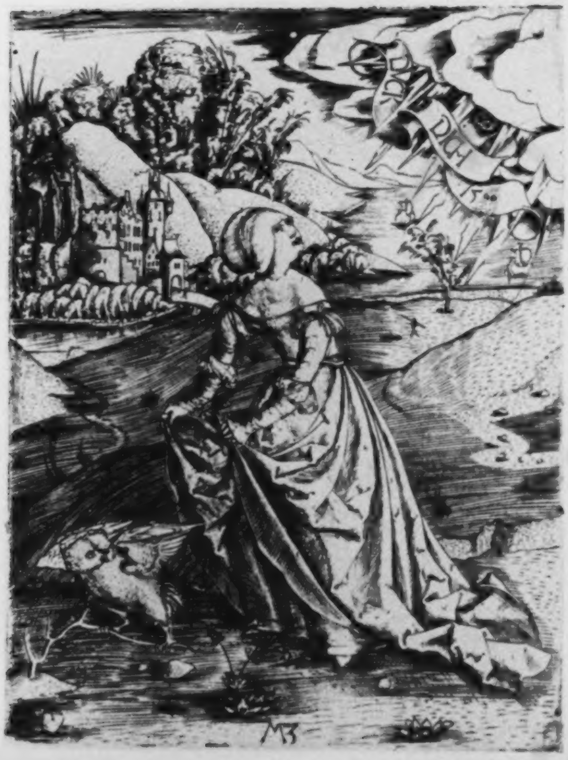
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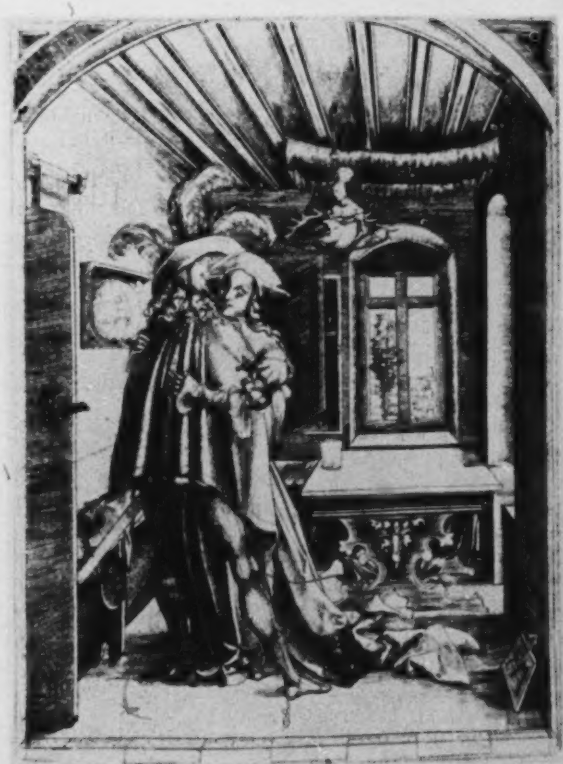

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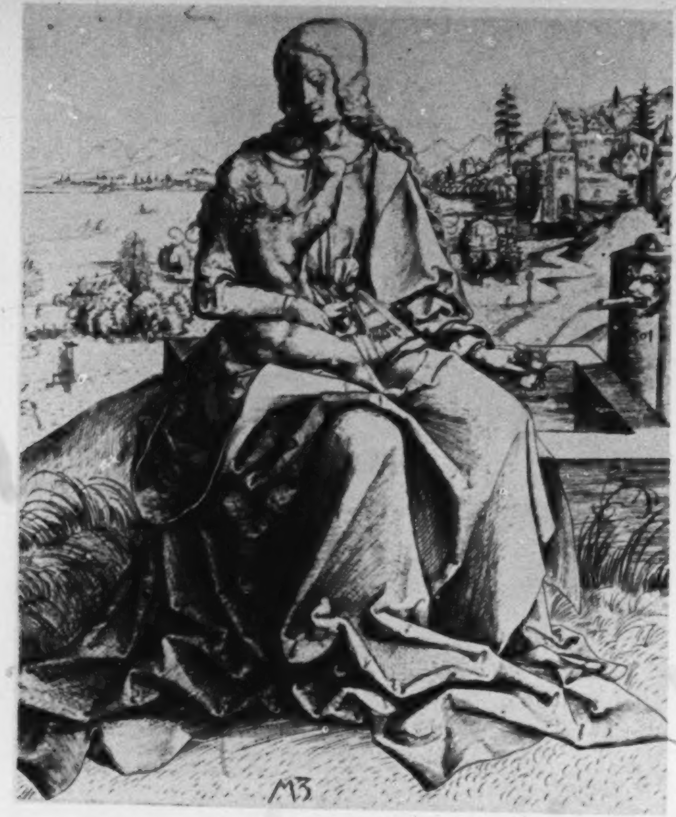

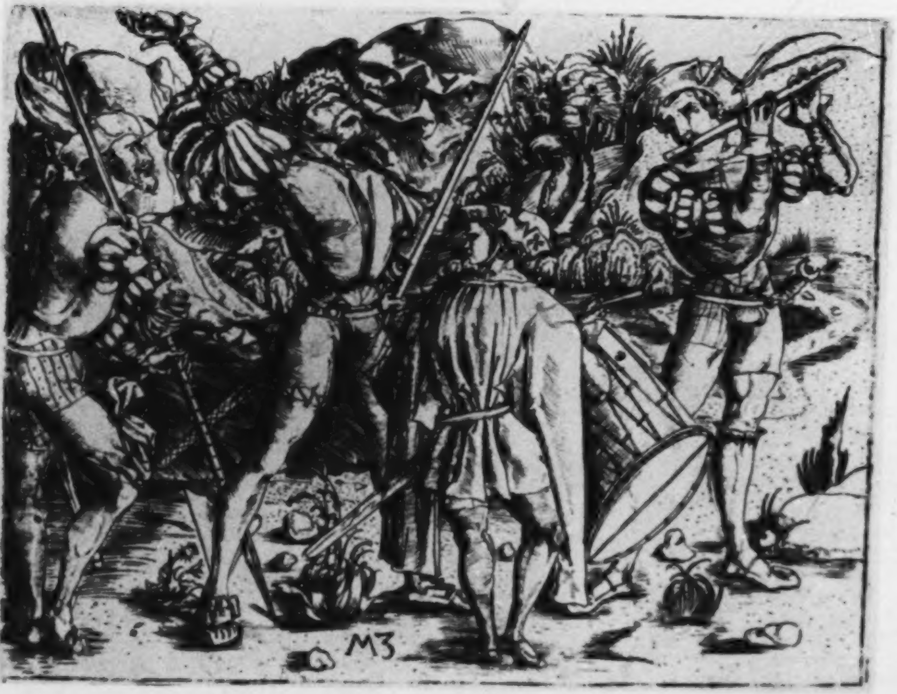

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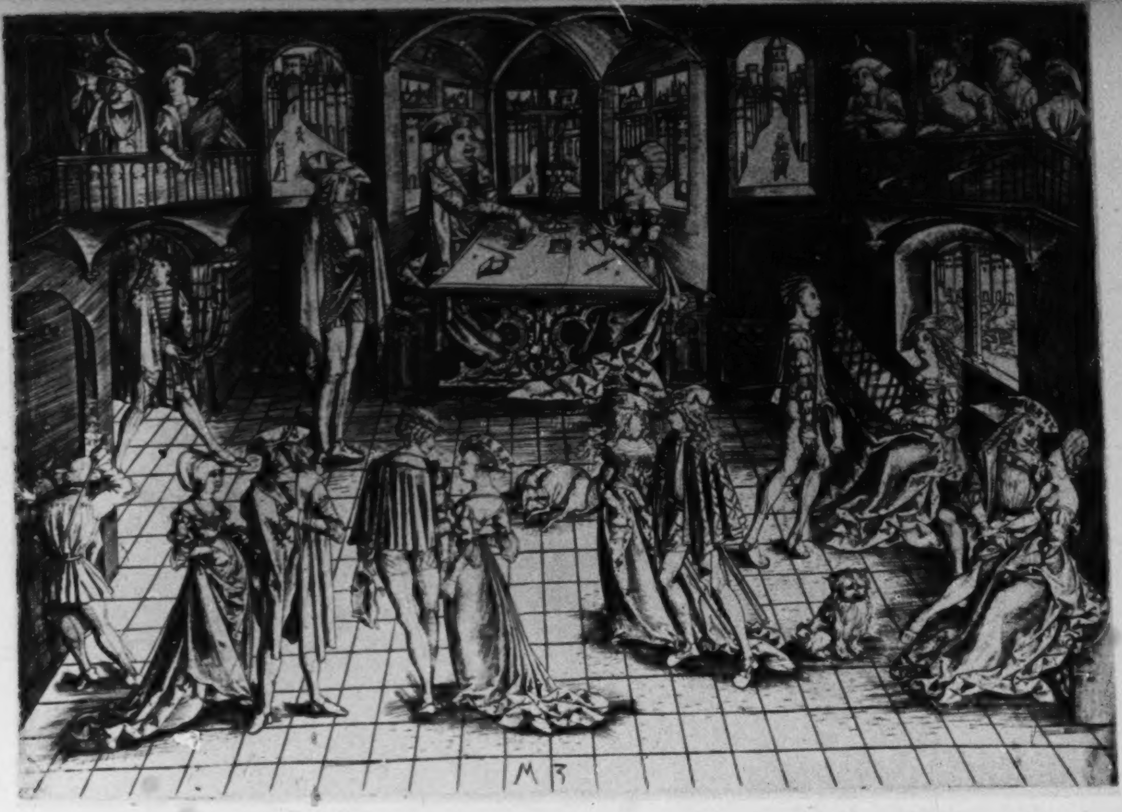

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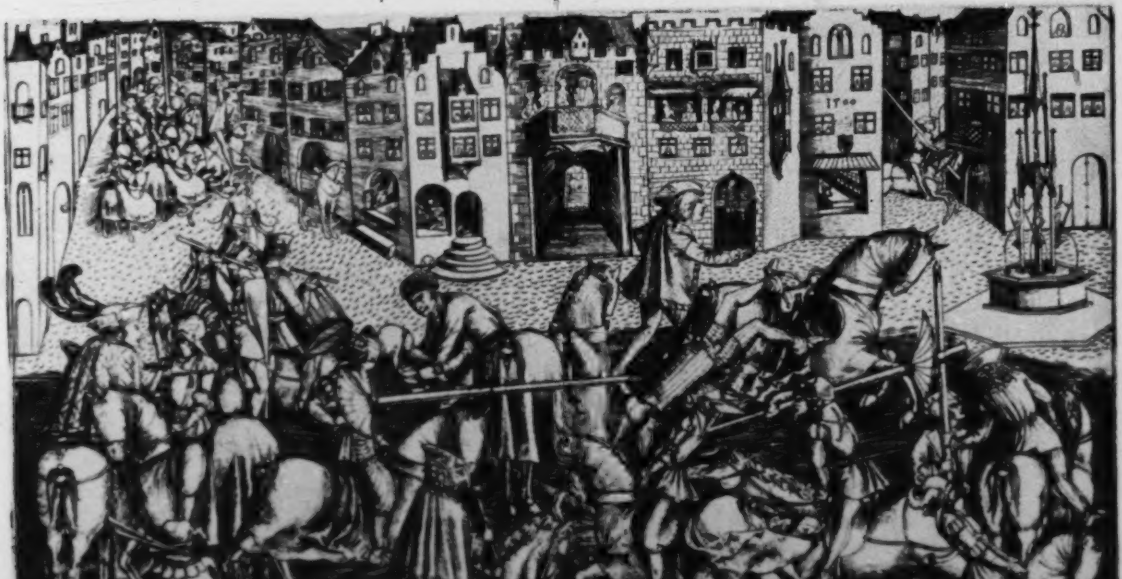

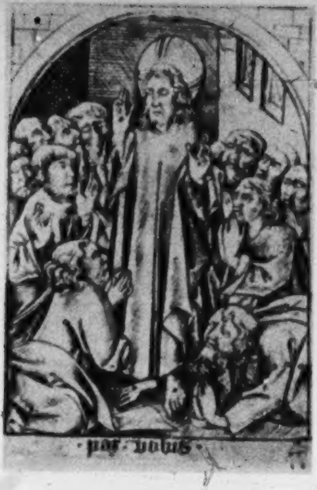

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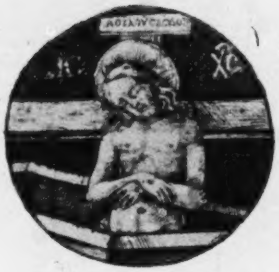

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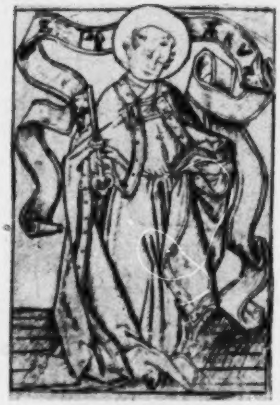

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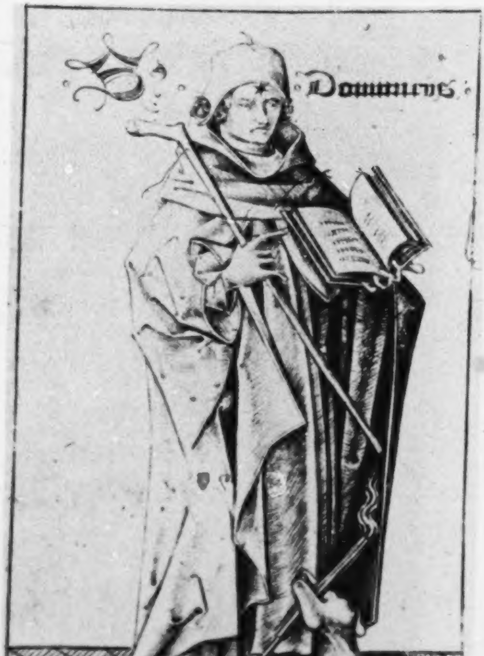
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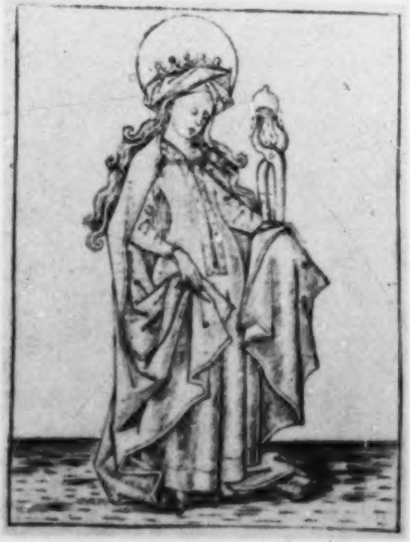
· I · M ·



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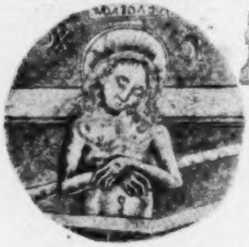

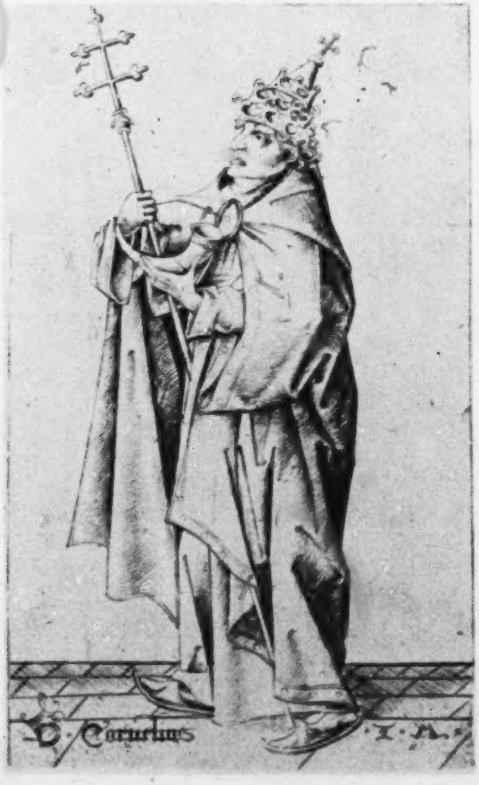
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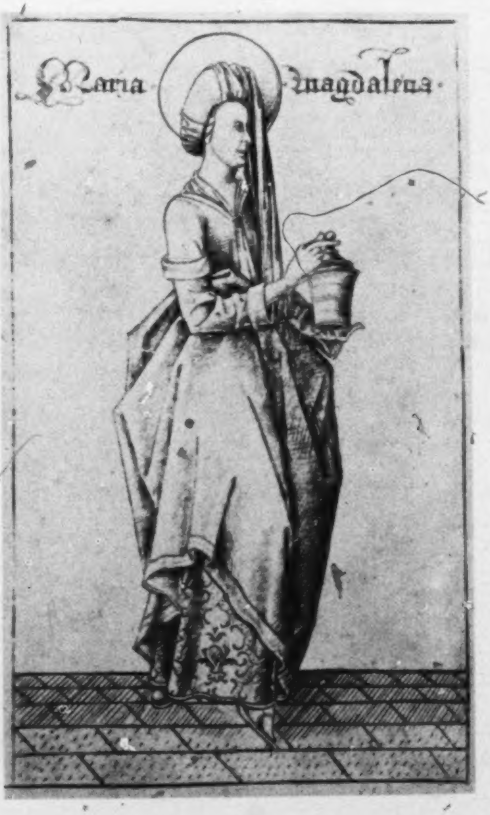
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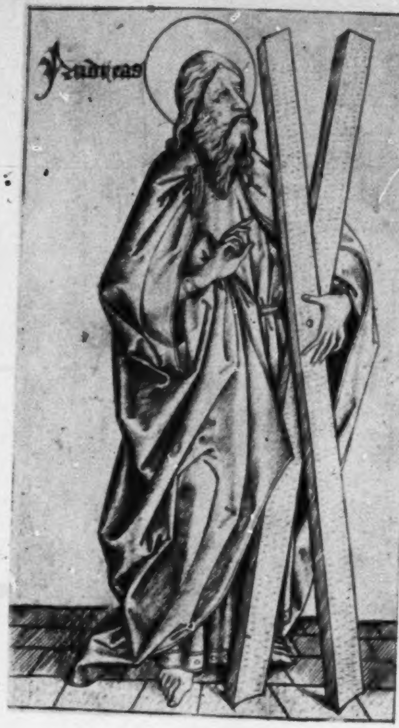

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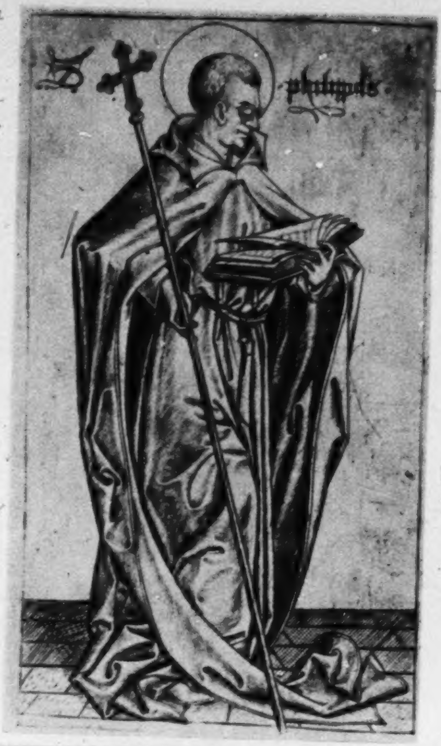
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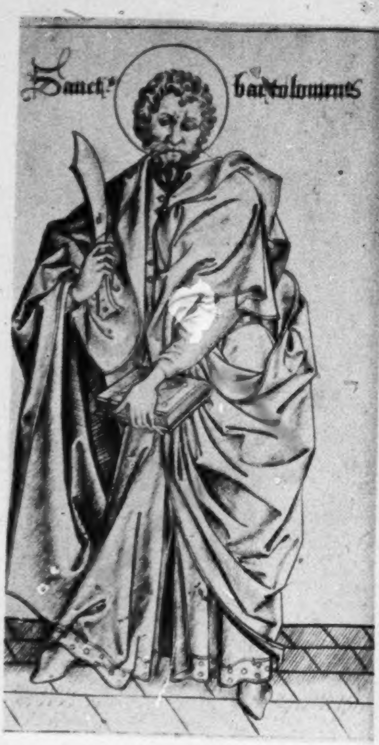
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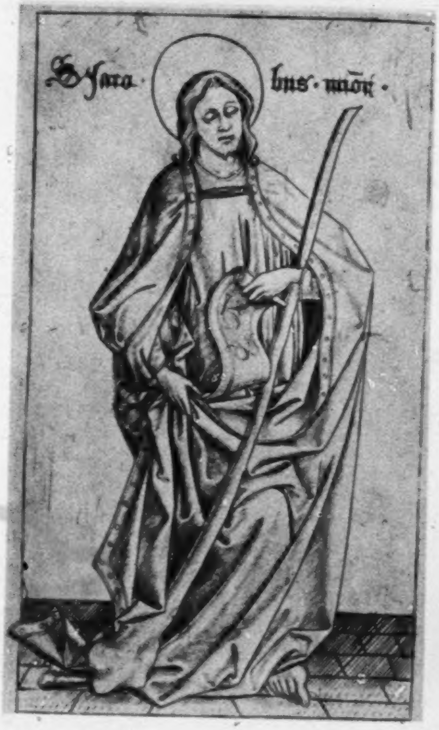
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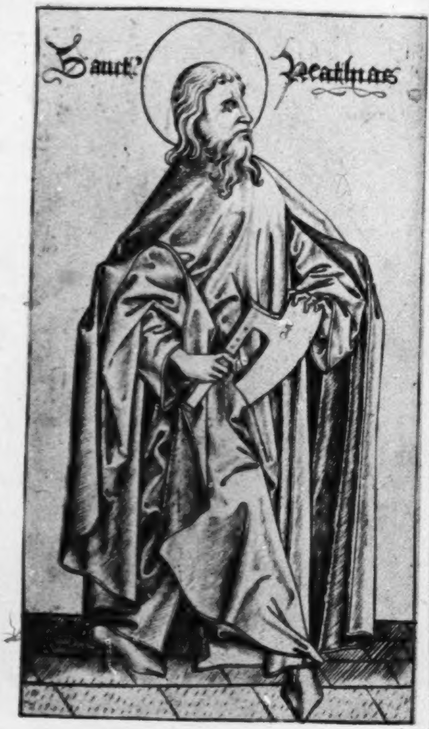
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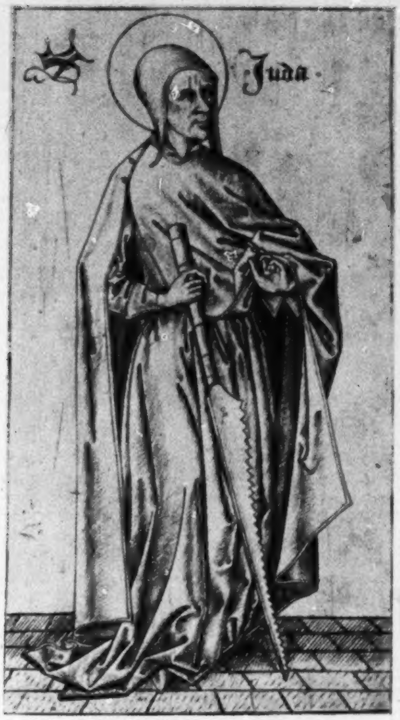

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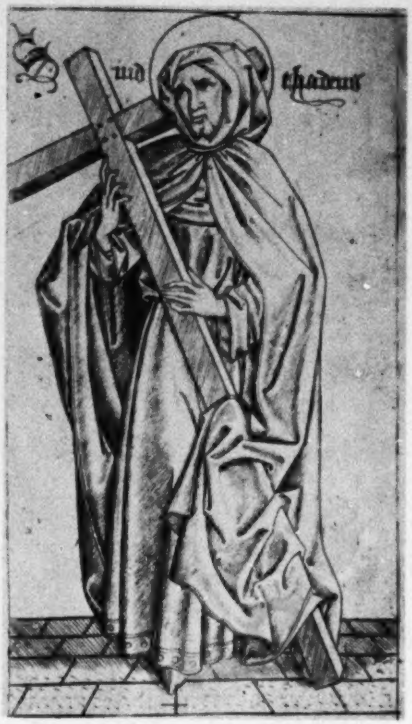
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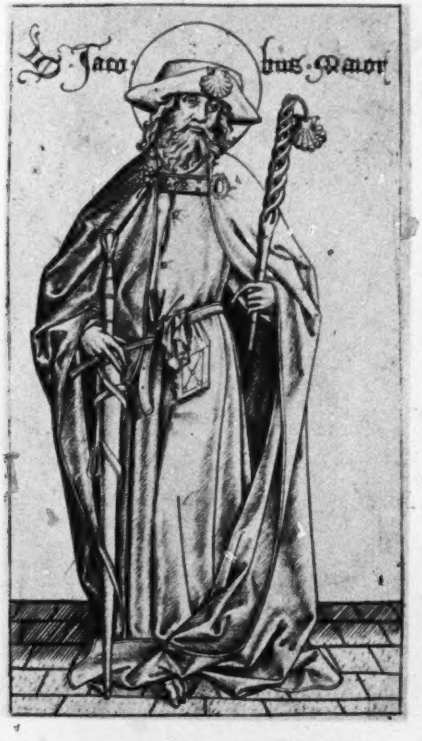
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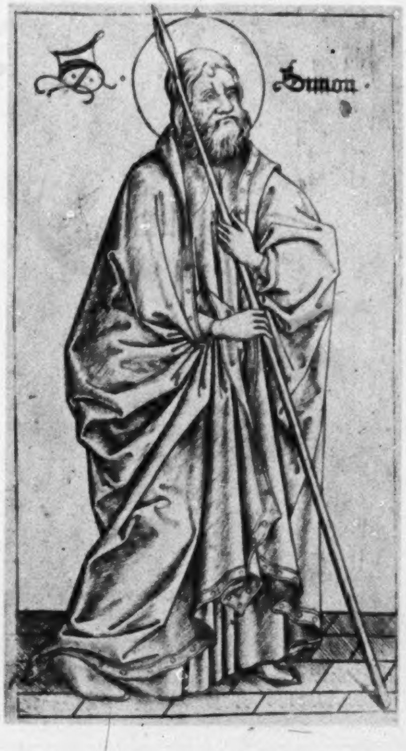

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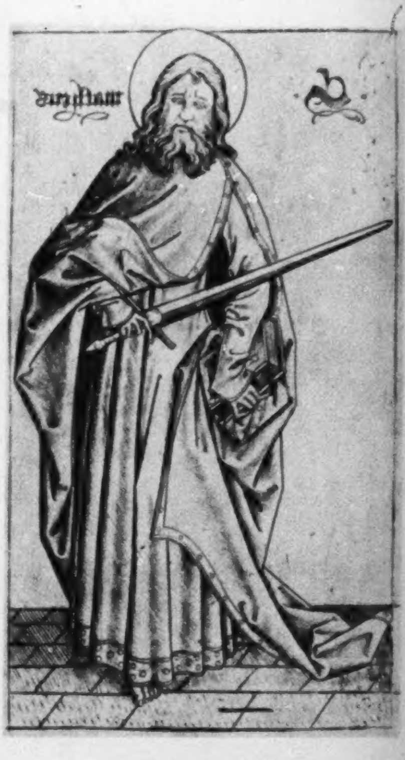

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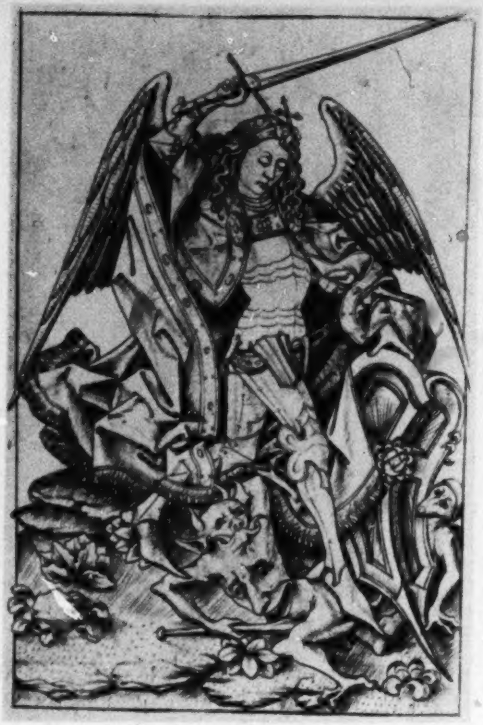

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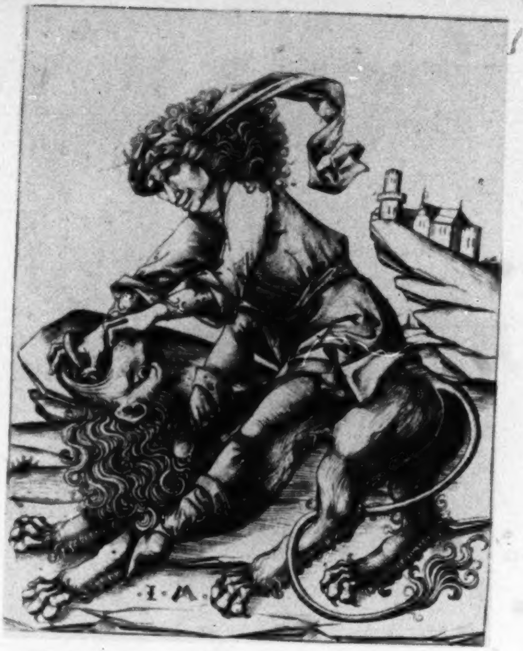

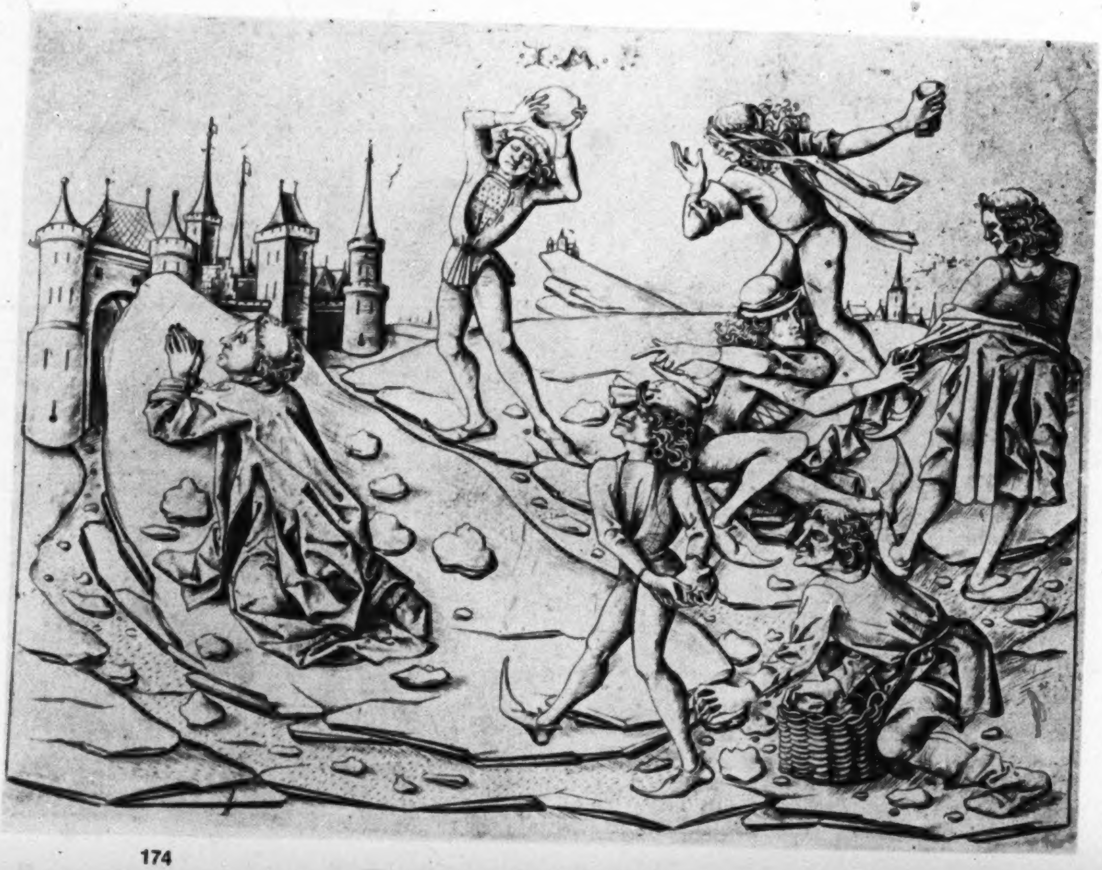

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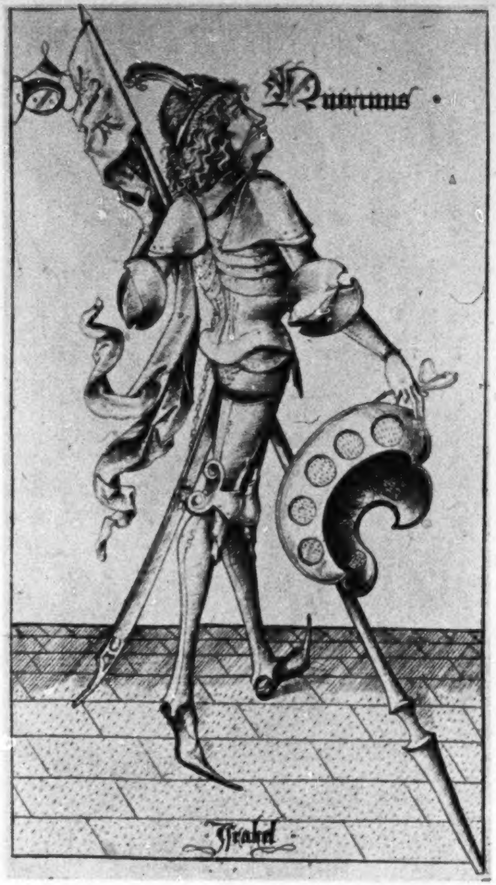
Quirinus
Israhel

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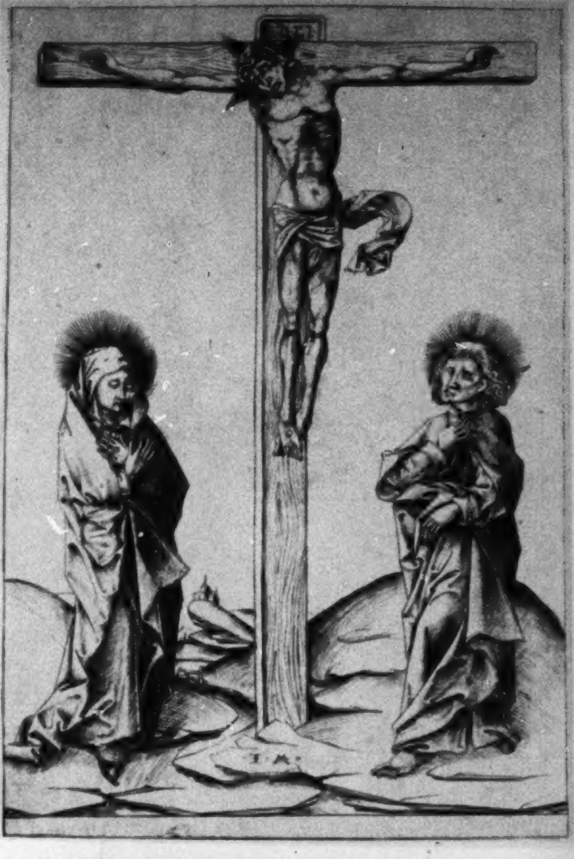

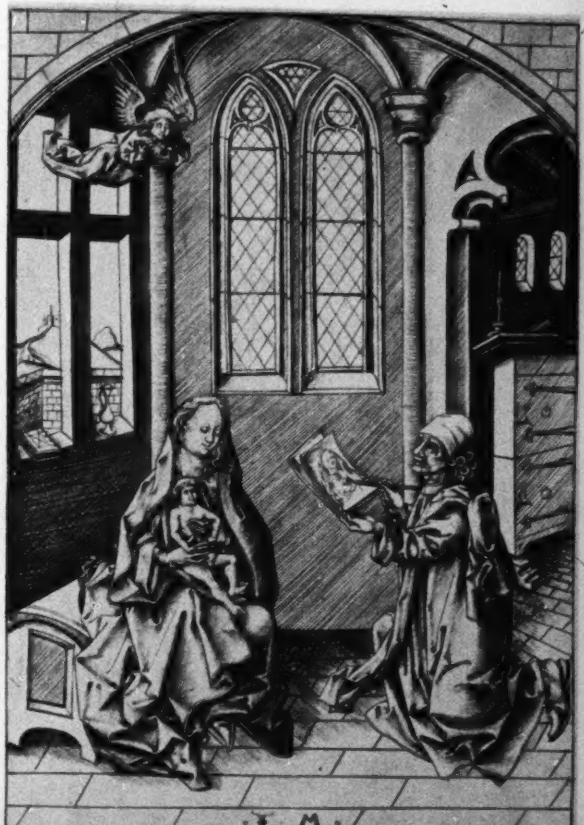

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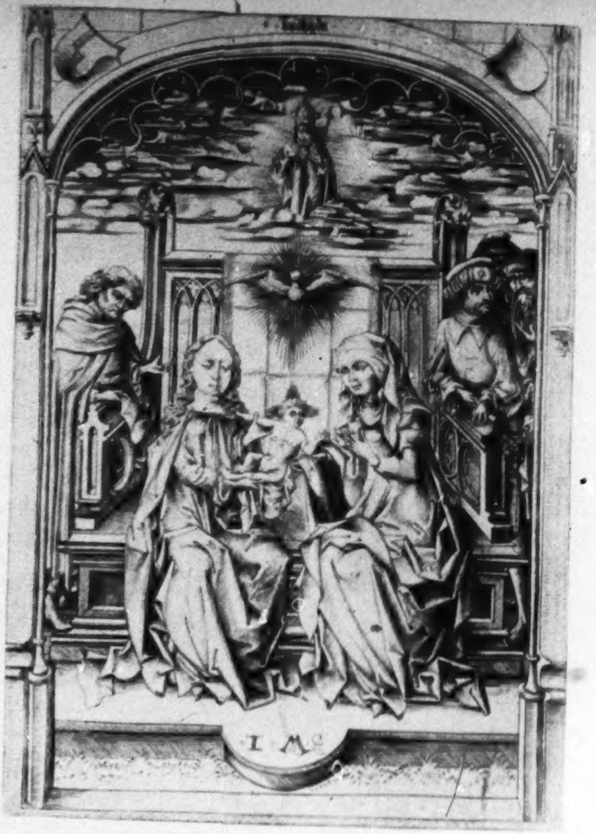

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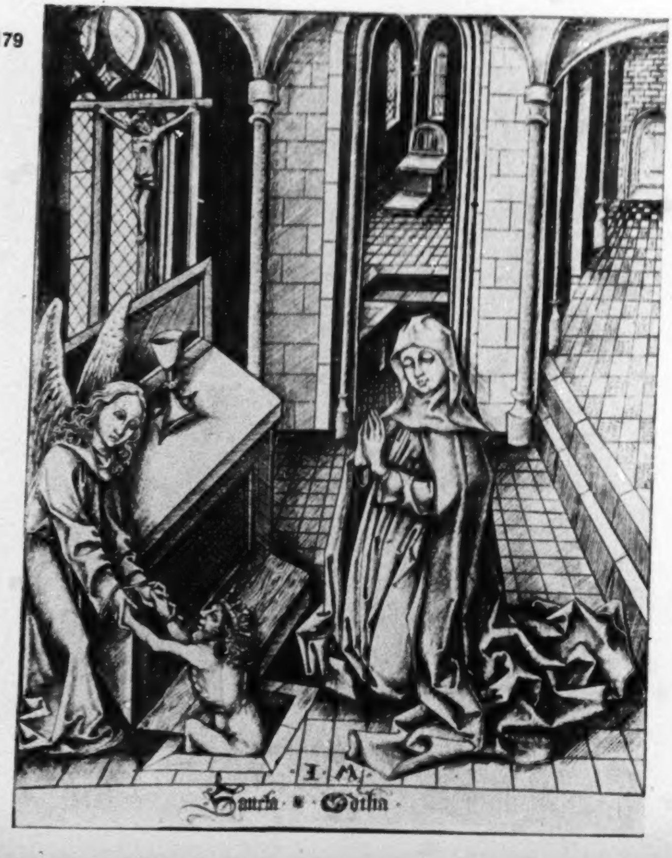
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Sancta · Odilia

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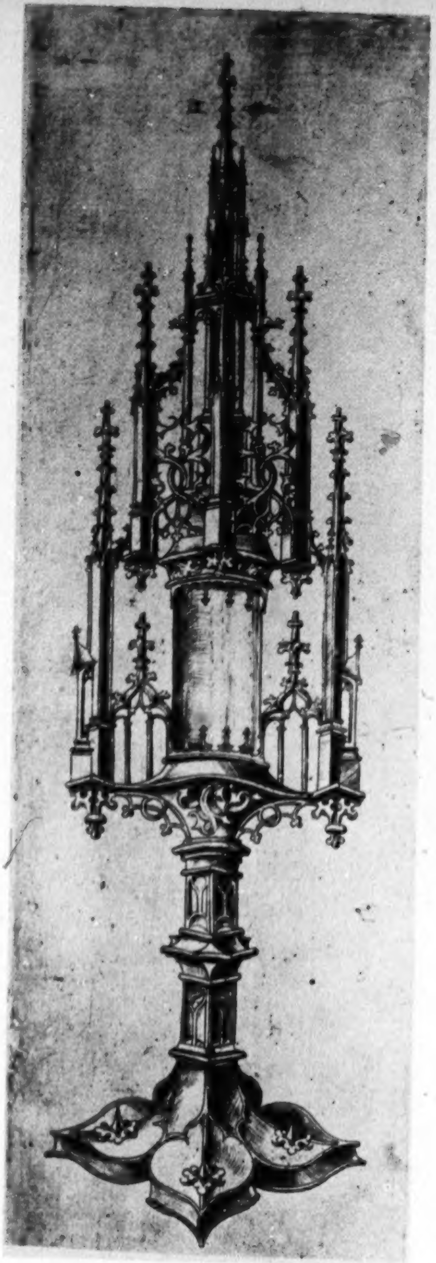

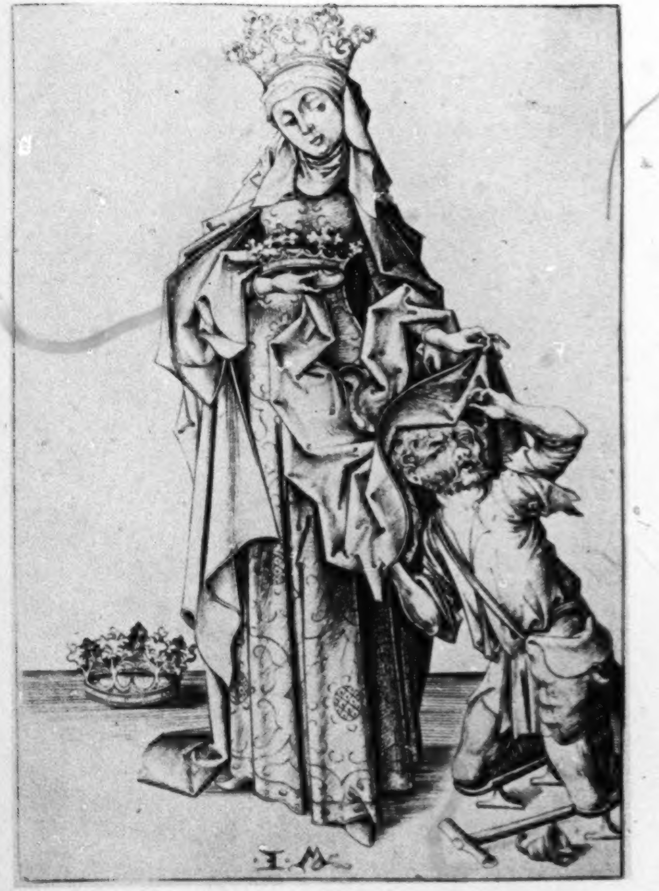

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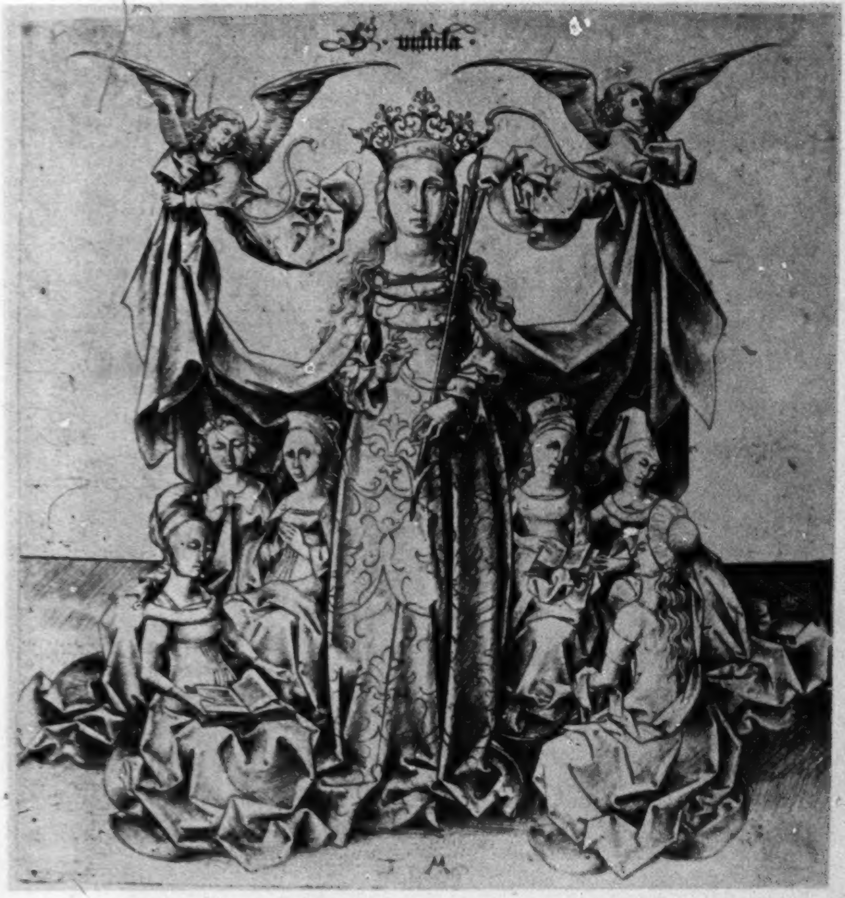

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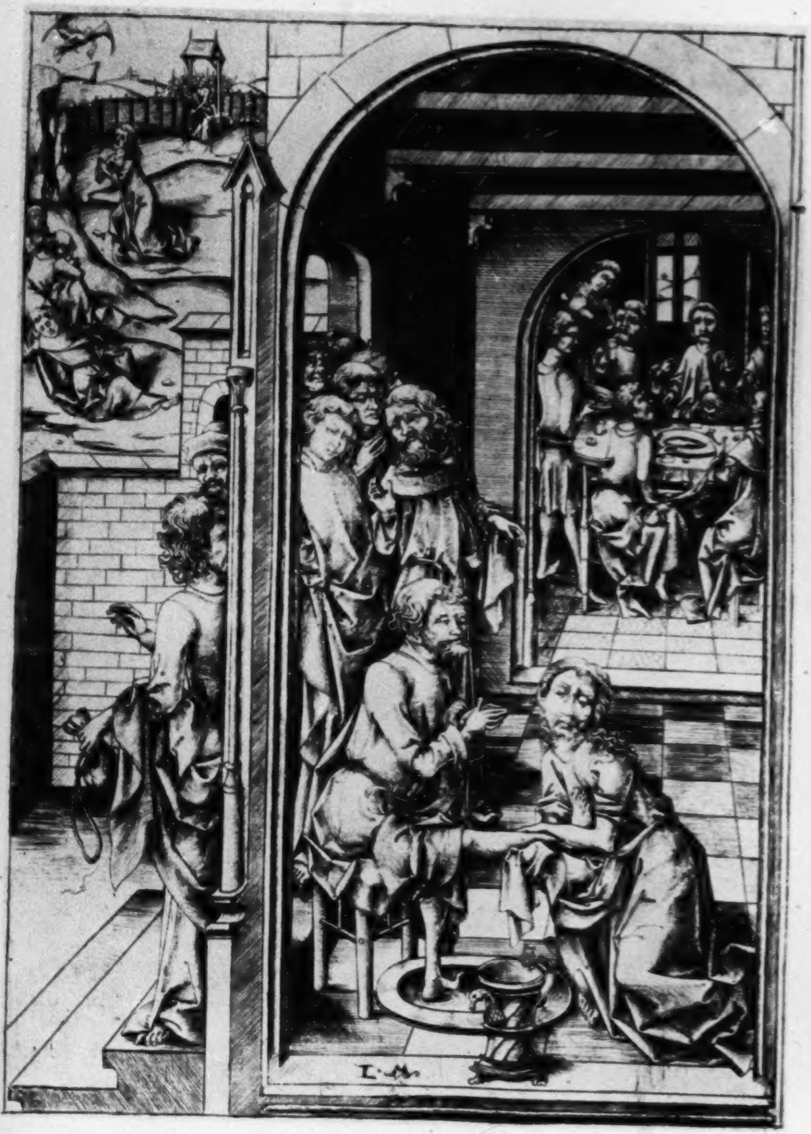

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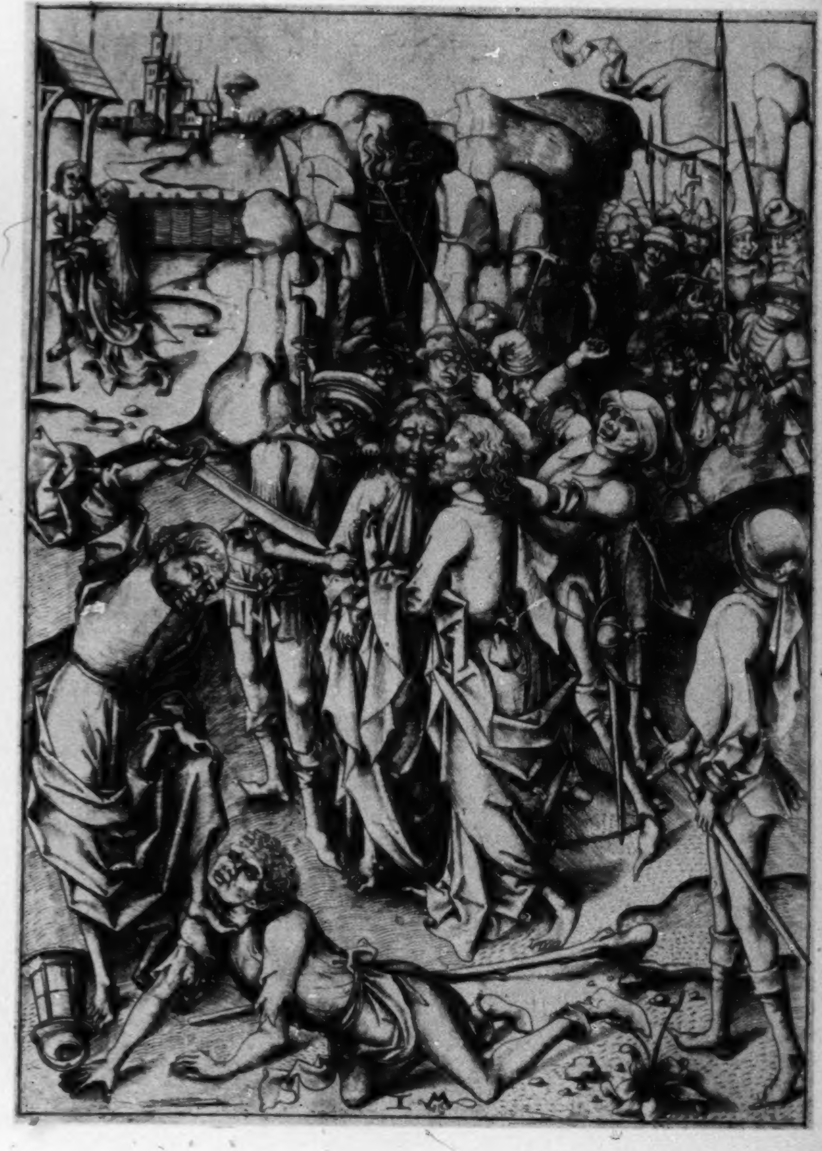

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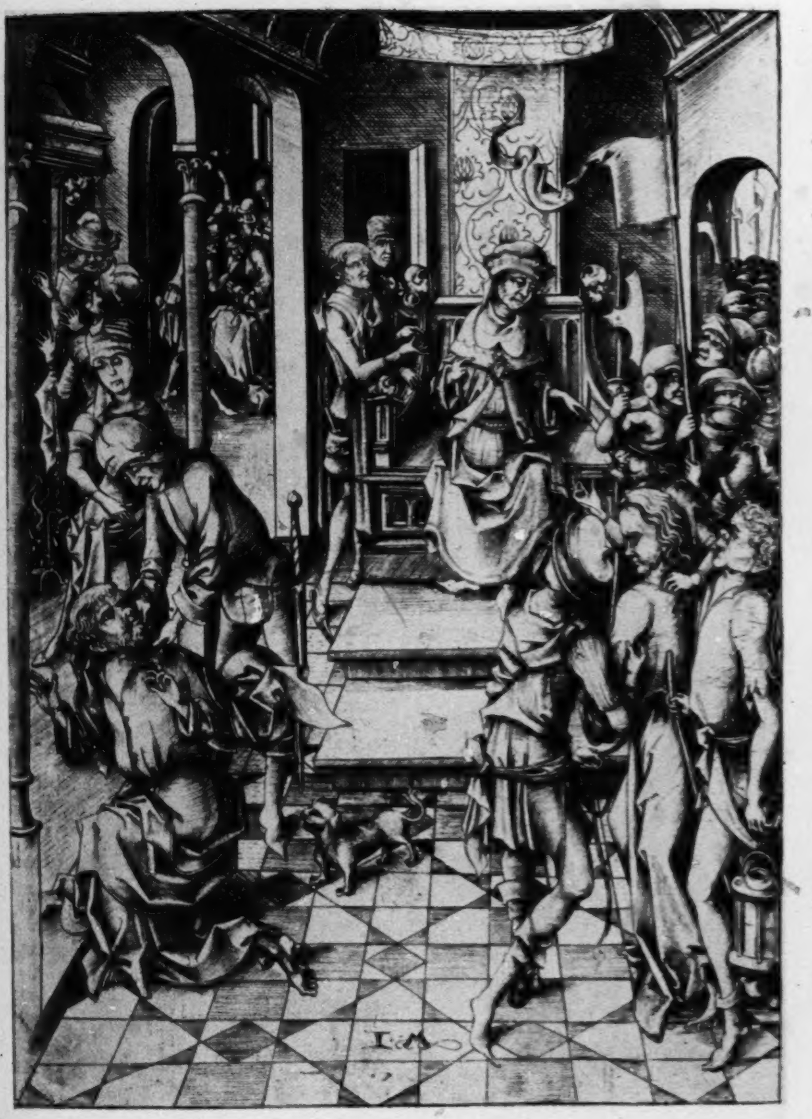

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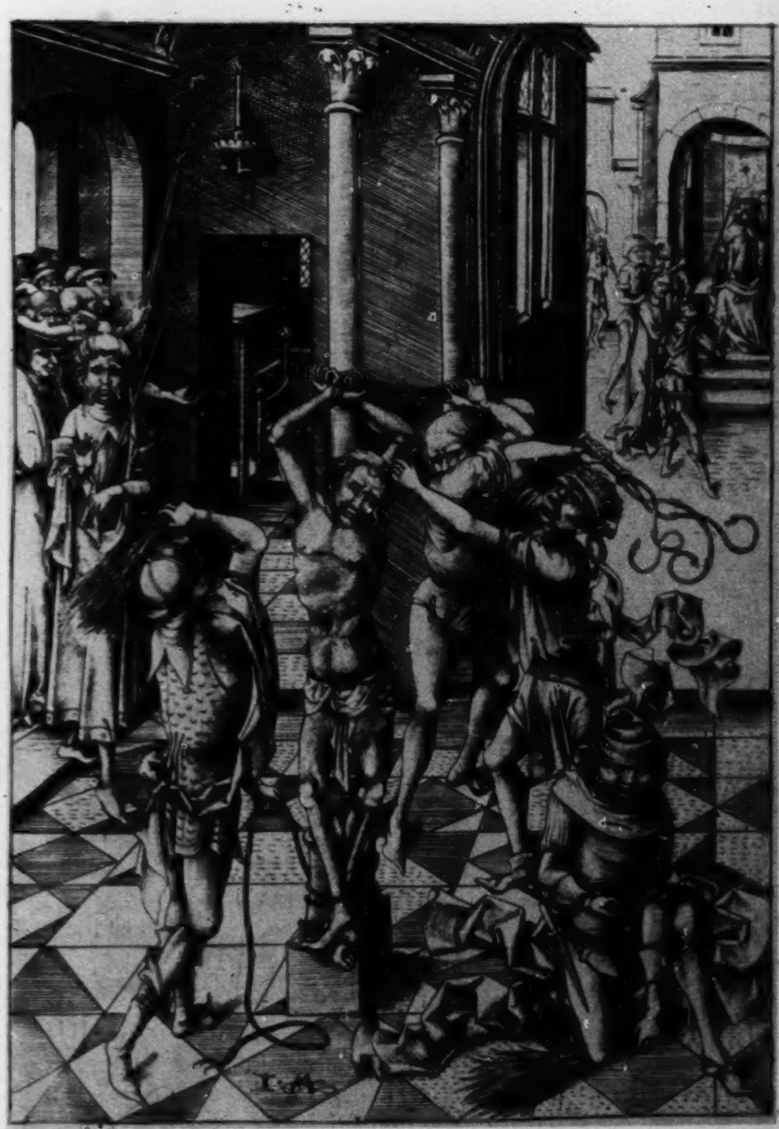

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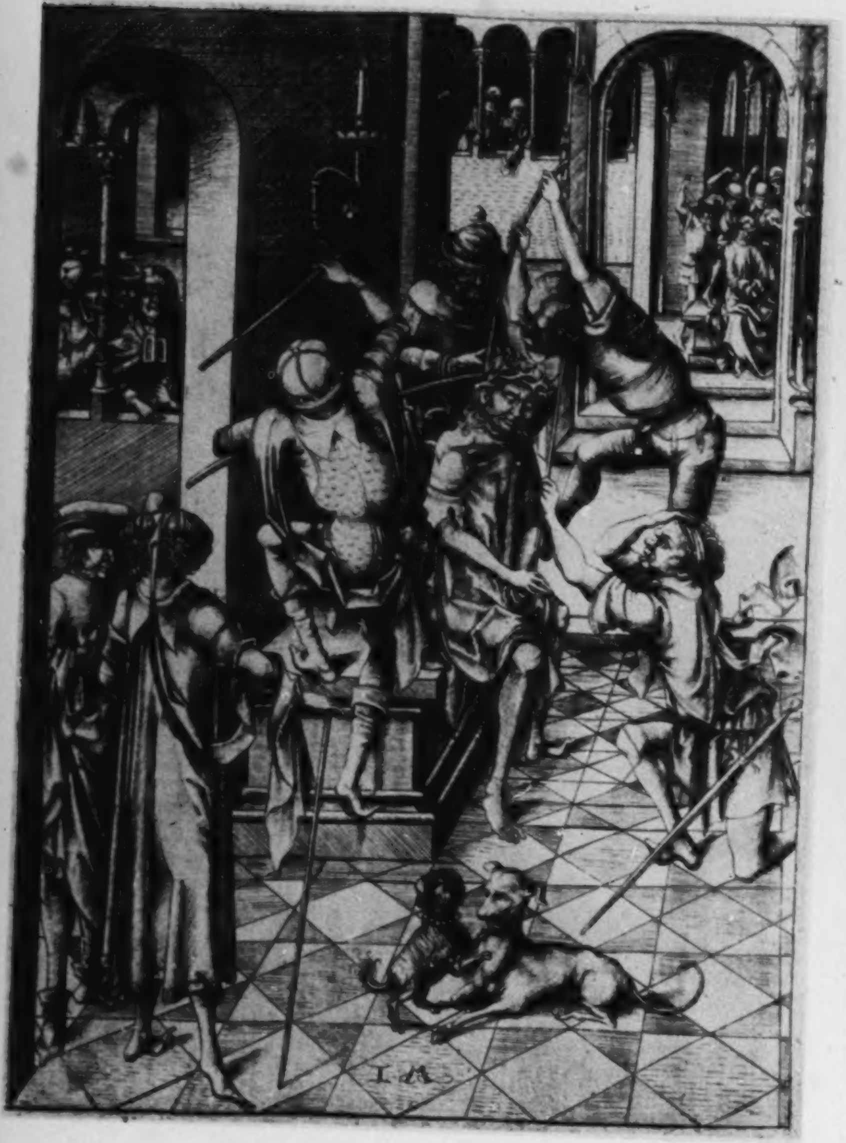

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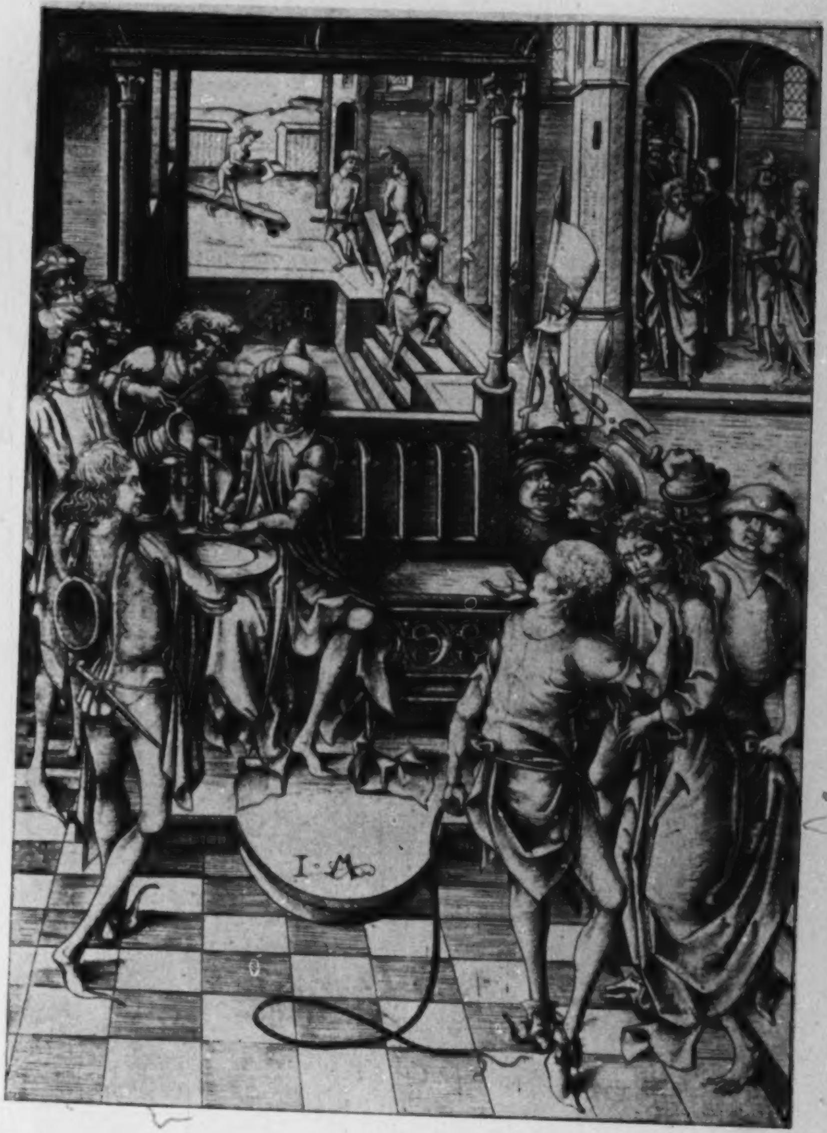

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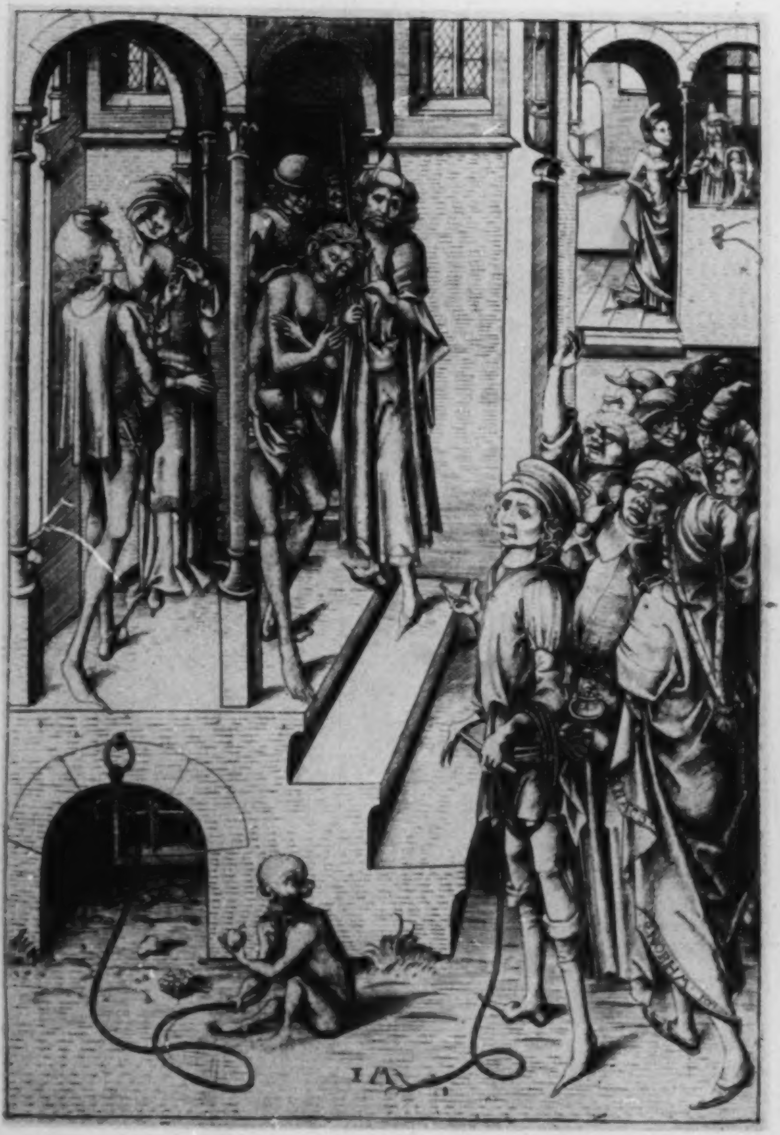

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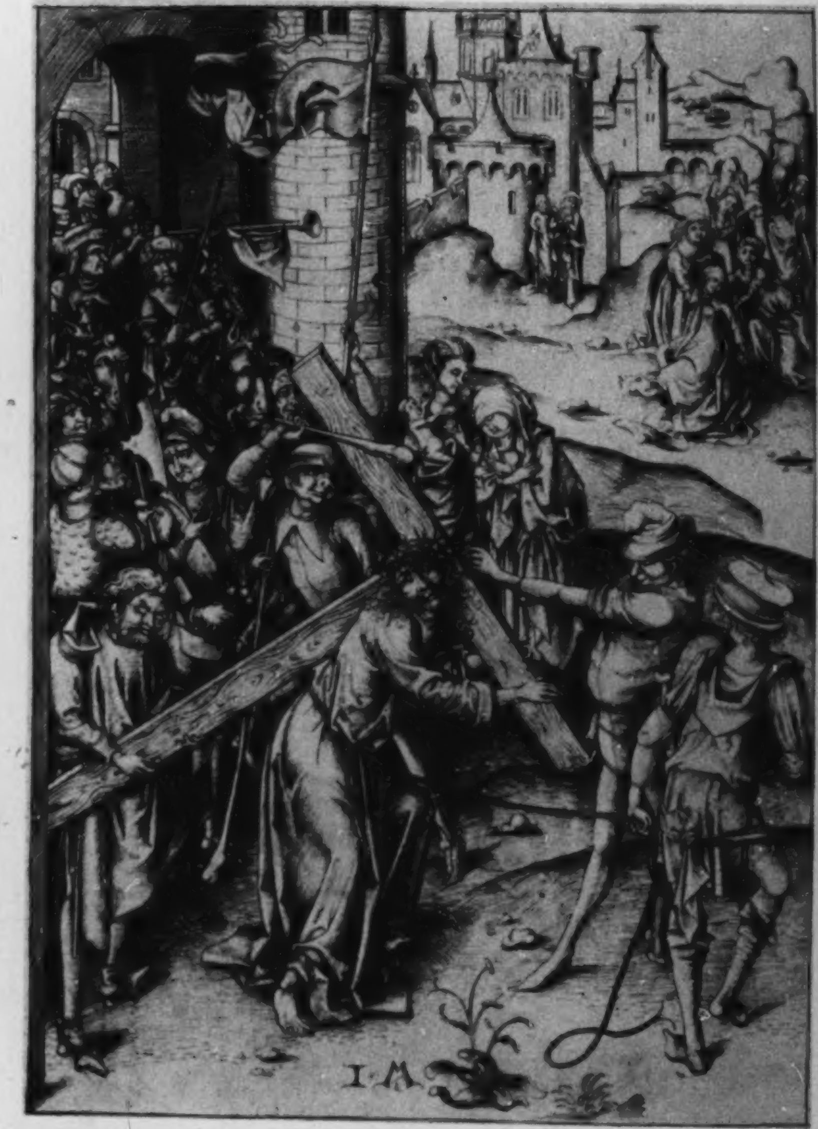

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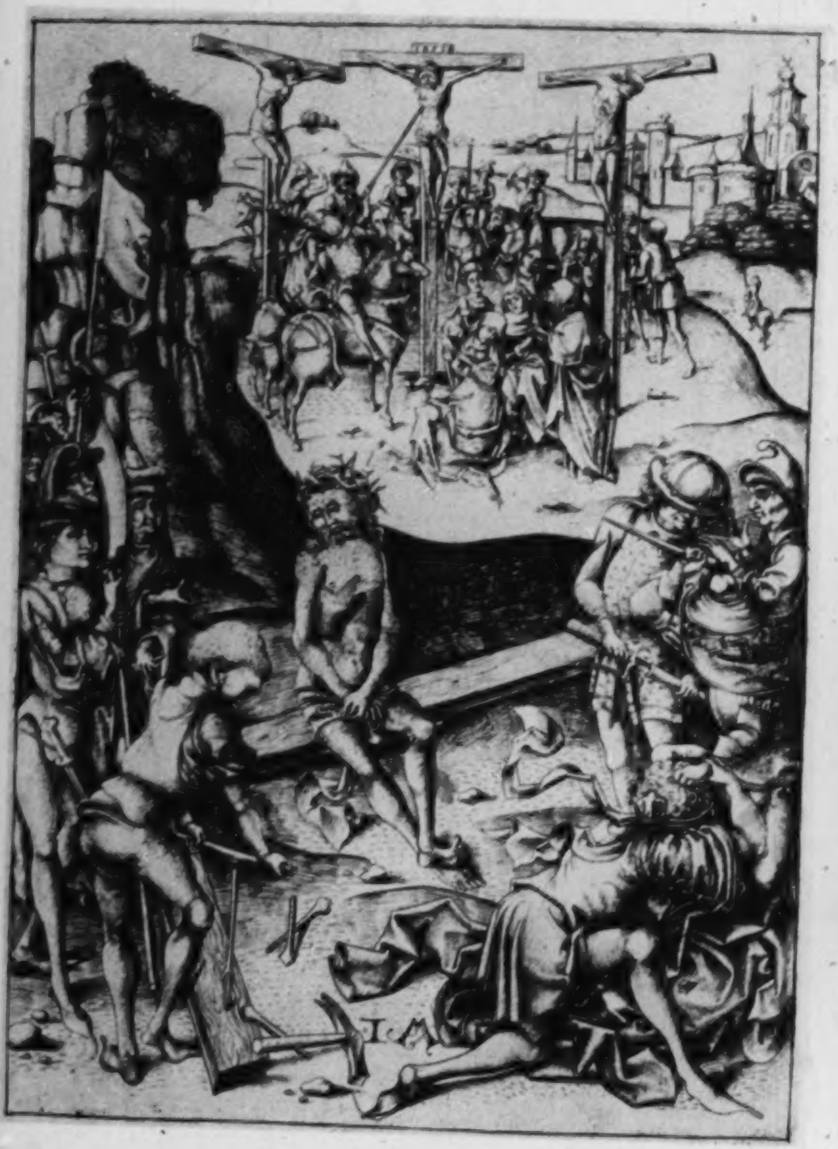

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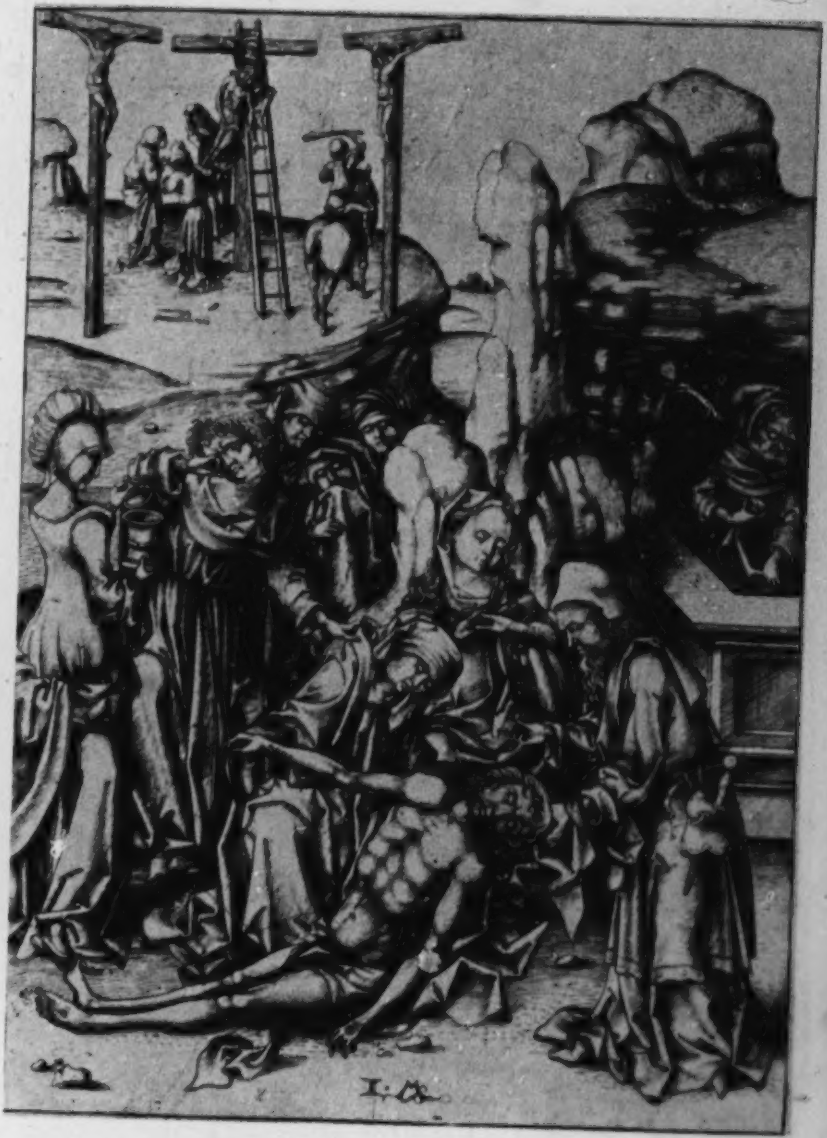

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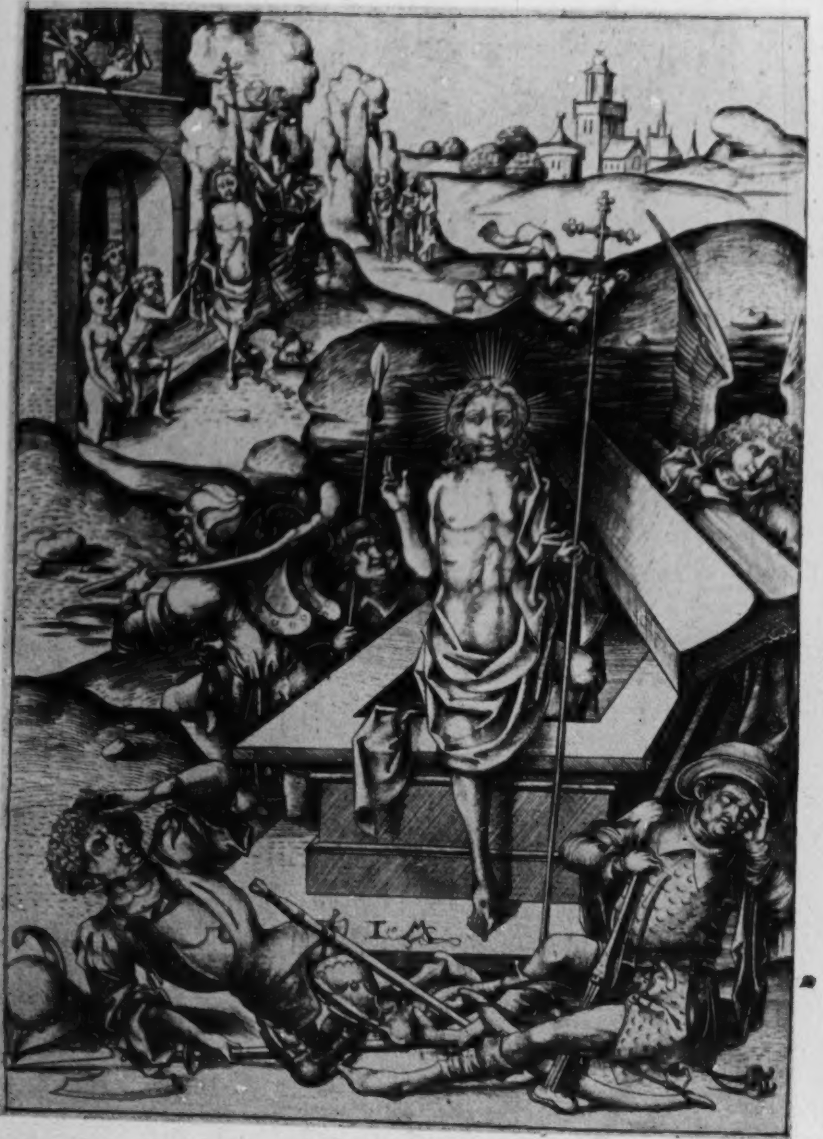

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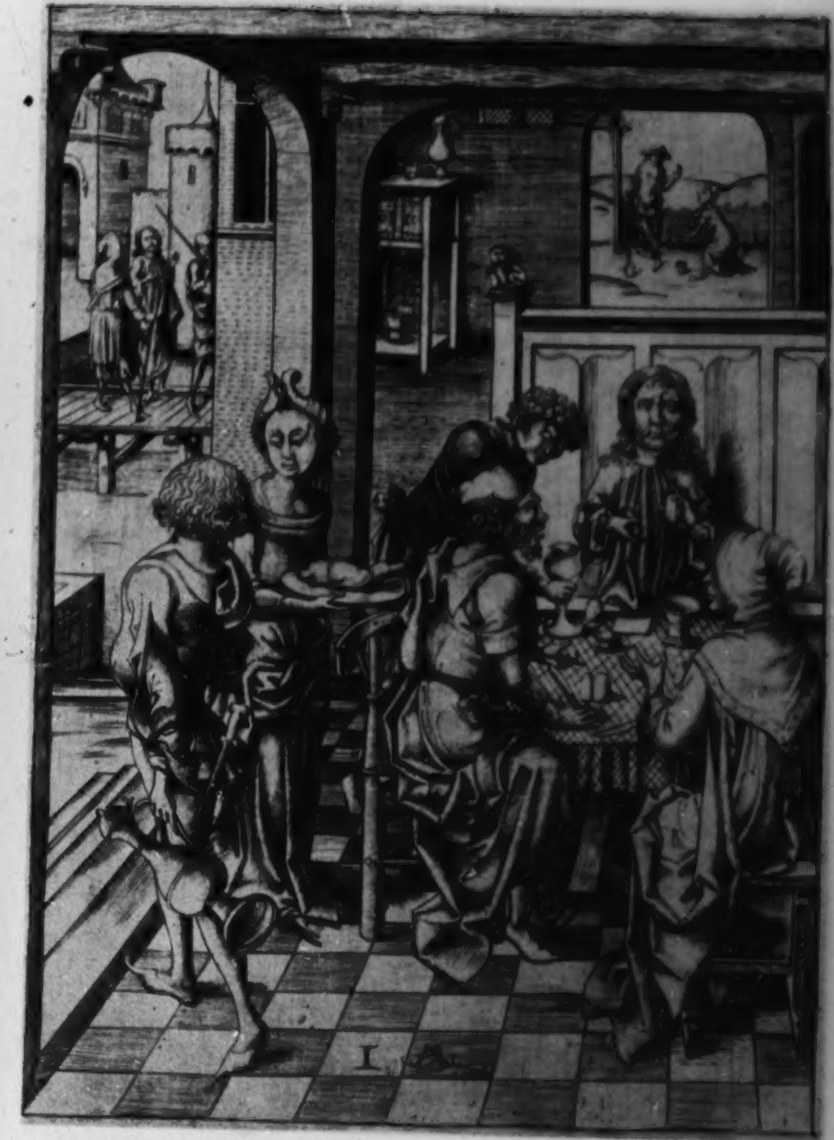

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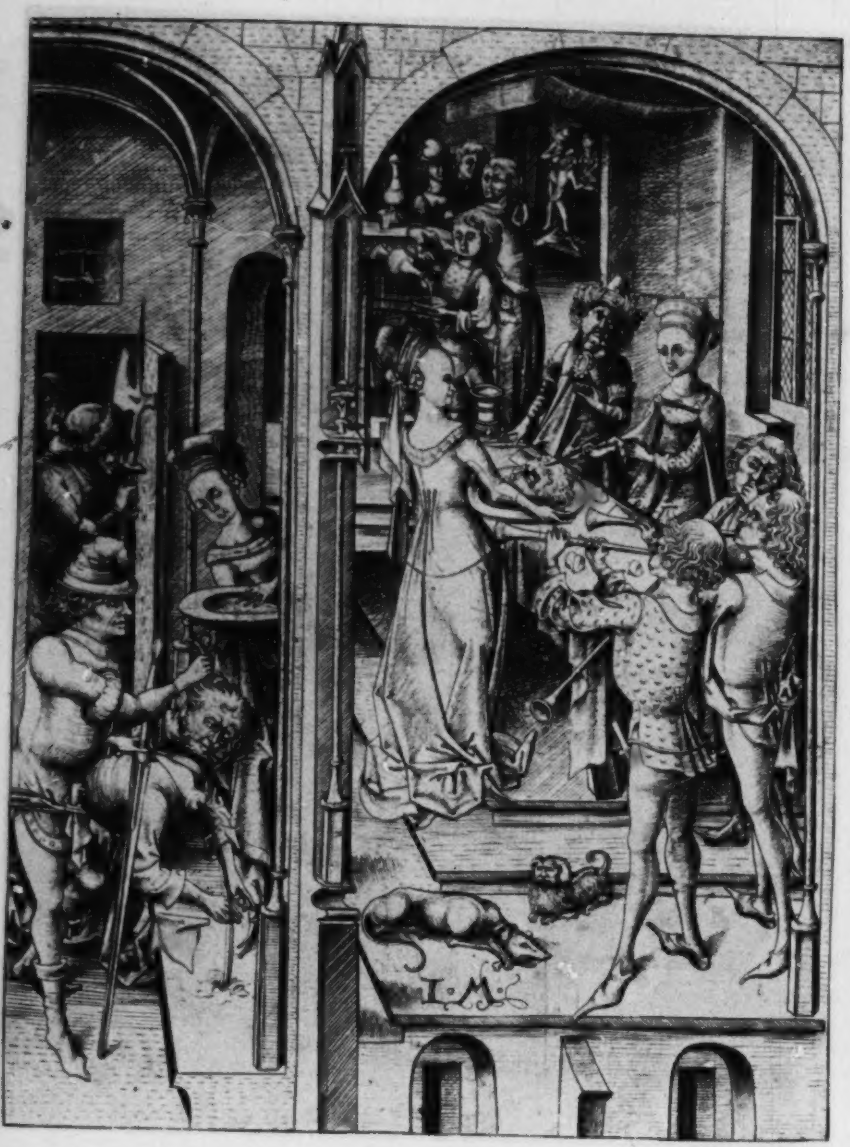

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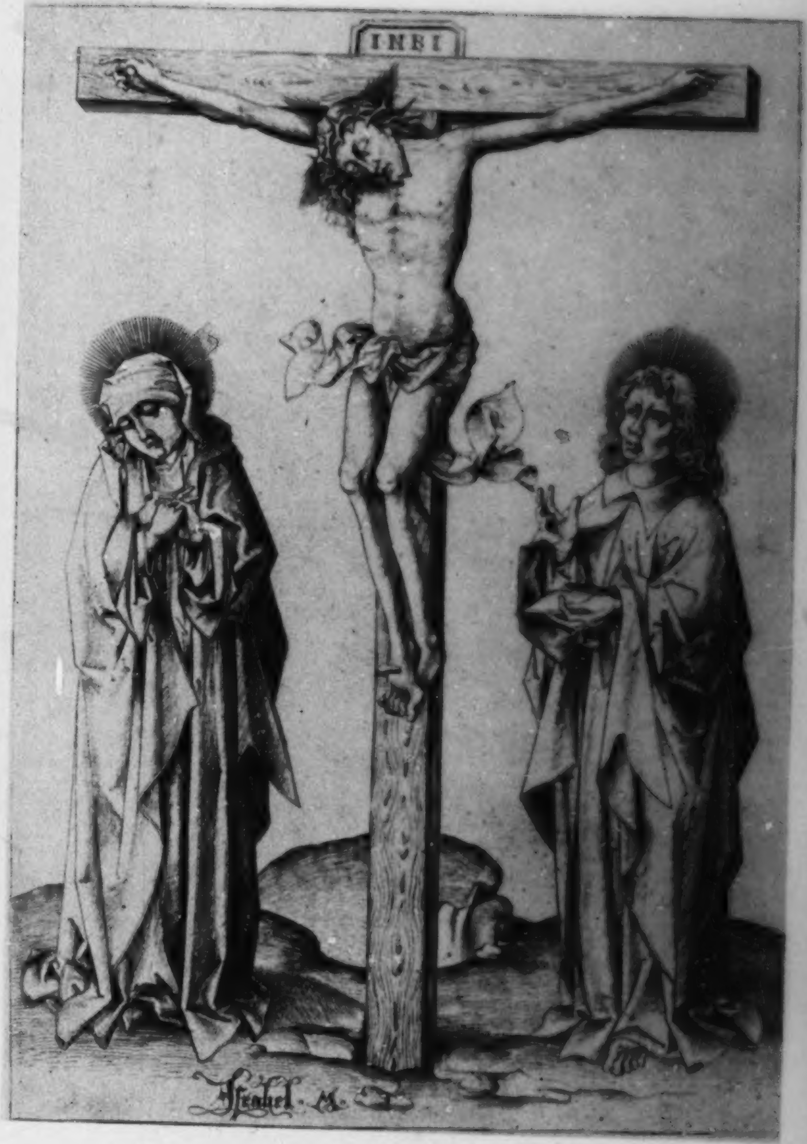
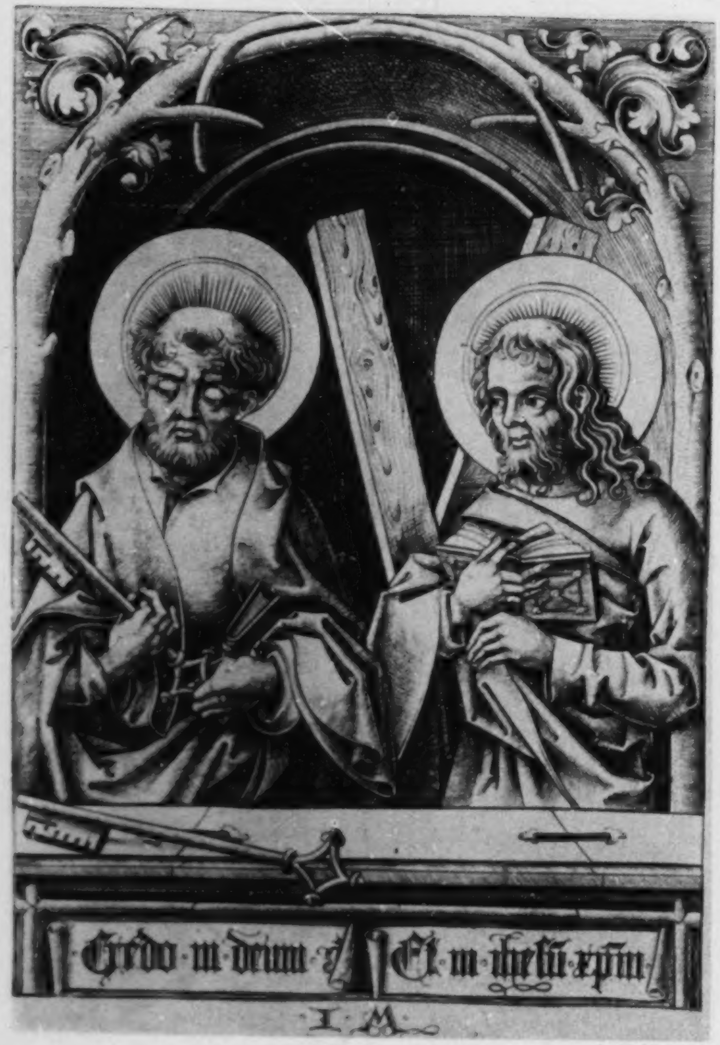
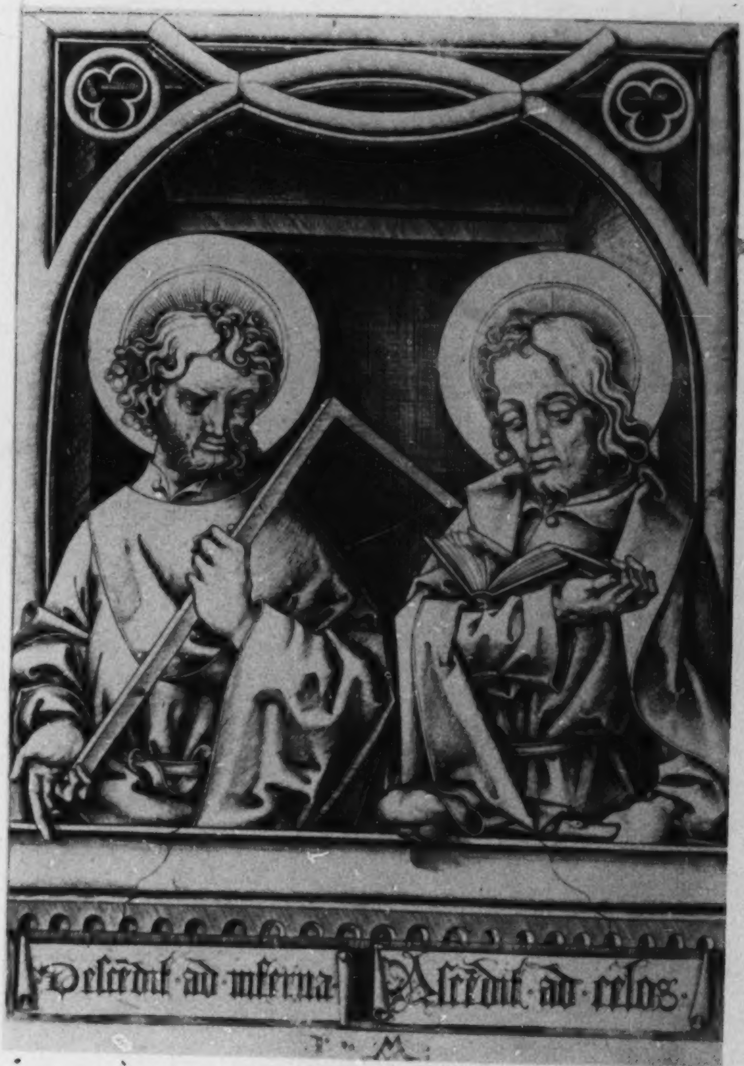

INRI
Israhel M

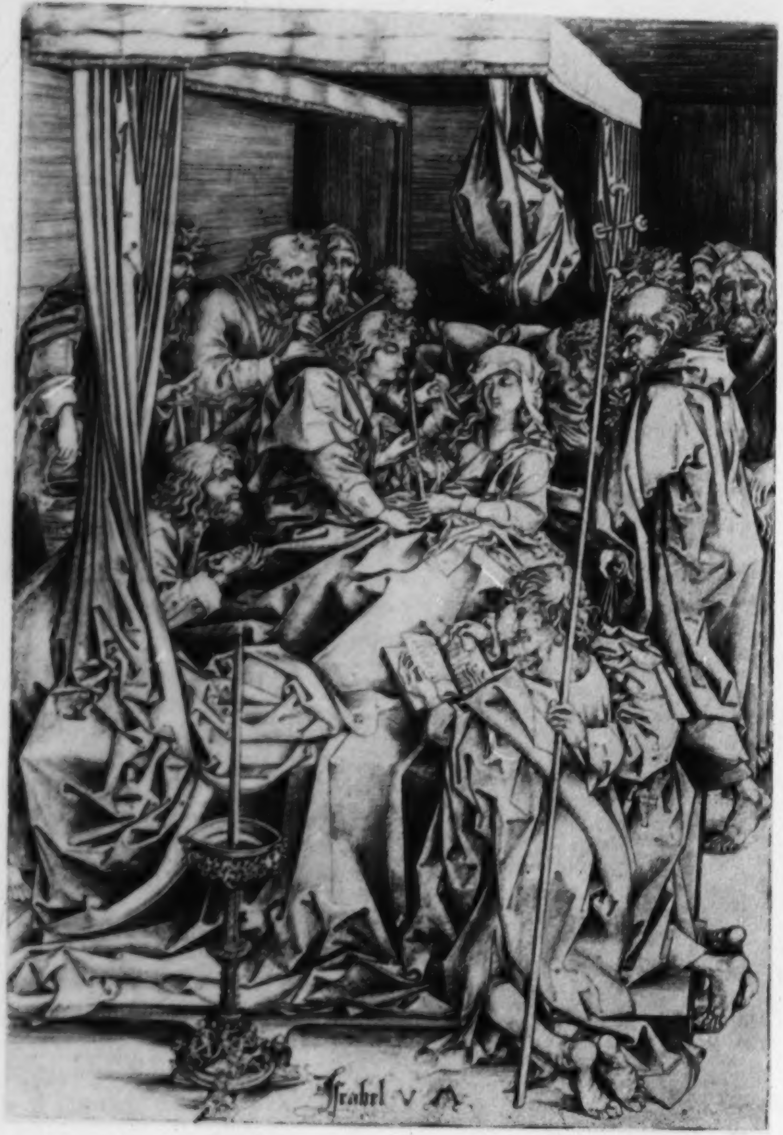
196


Credo · in · deum ·
Et · in · ihesu · xpm
I M

197


Descēdit · ad · inferna ·
Ascēdit · ad · celos ·
I M

198



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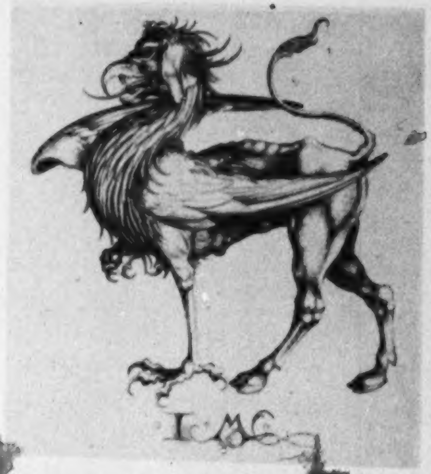

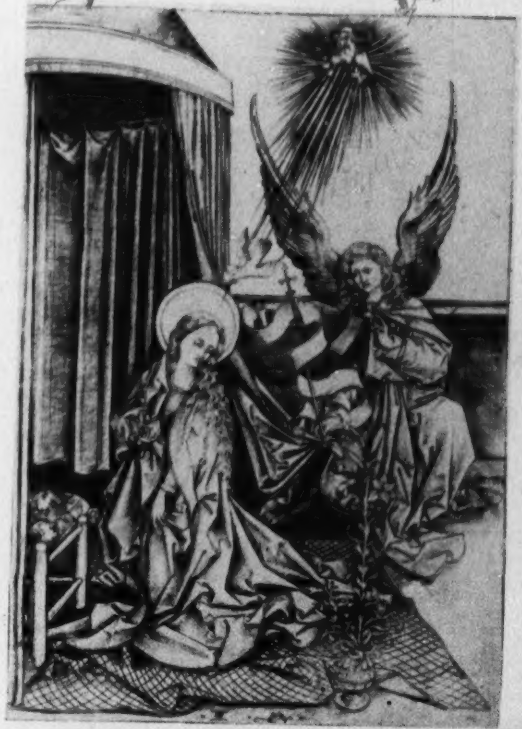

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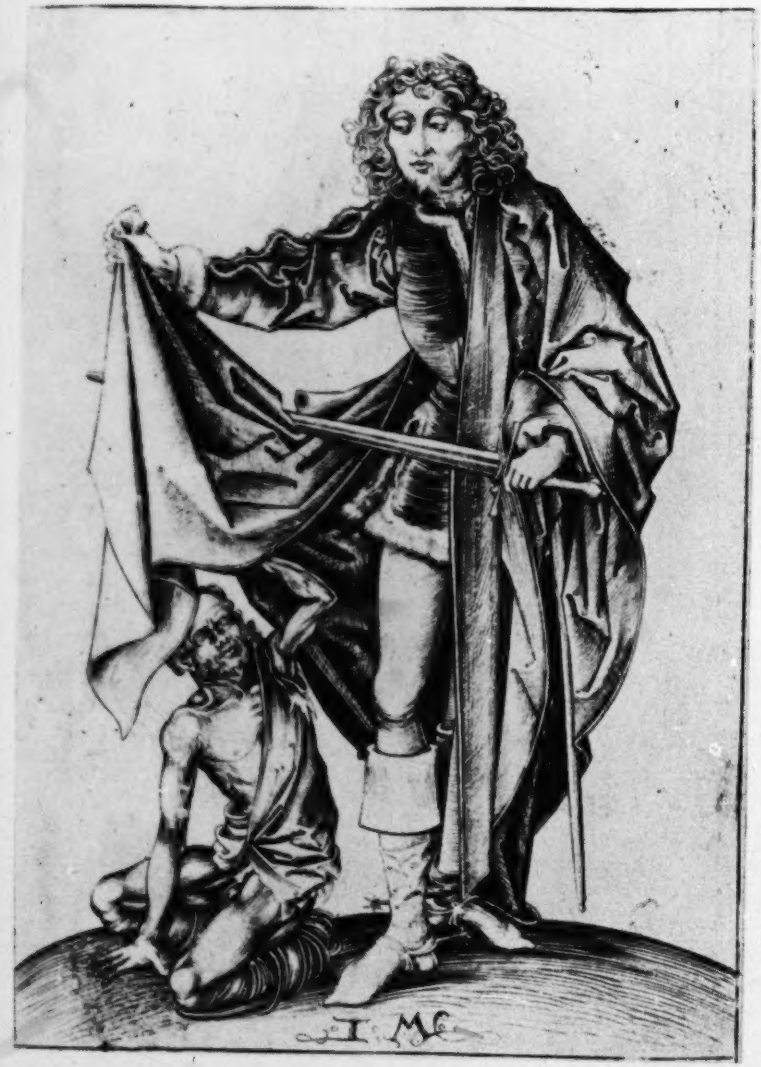

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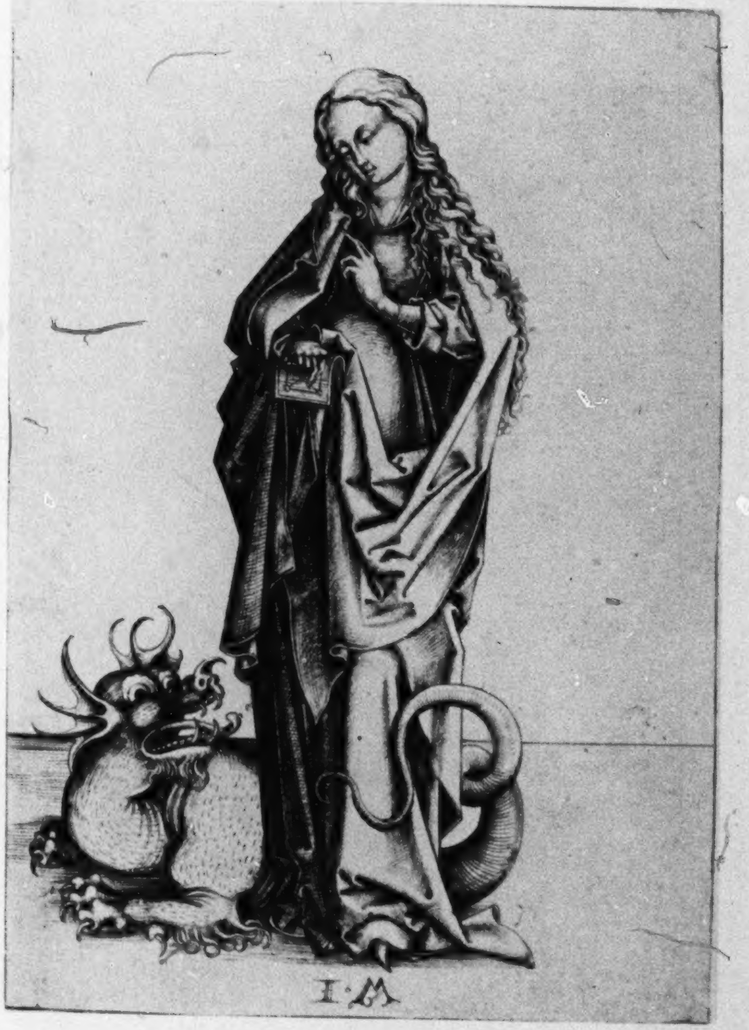

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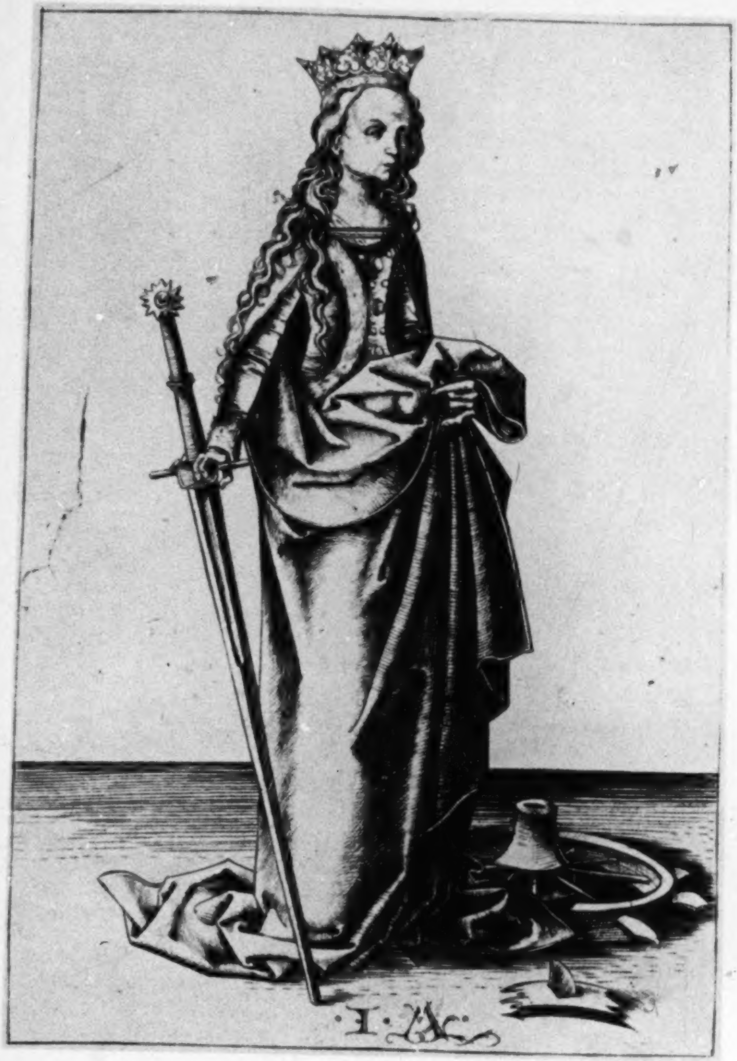
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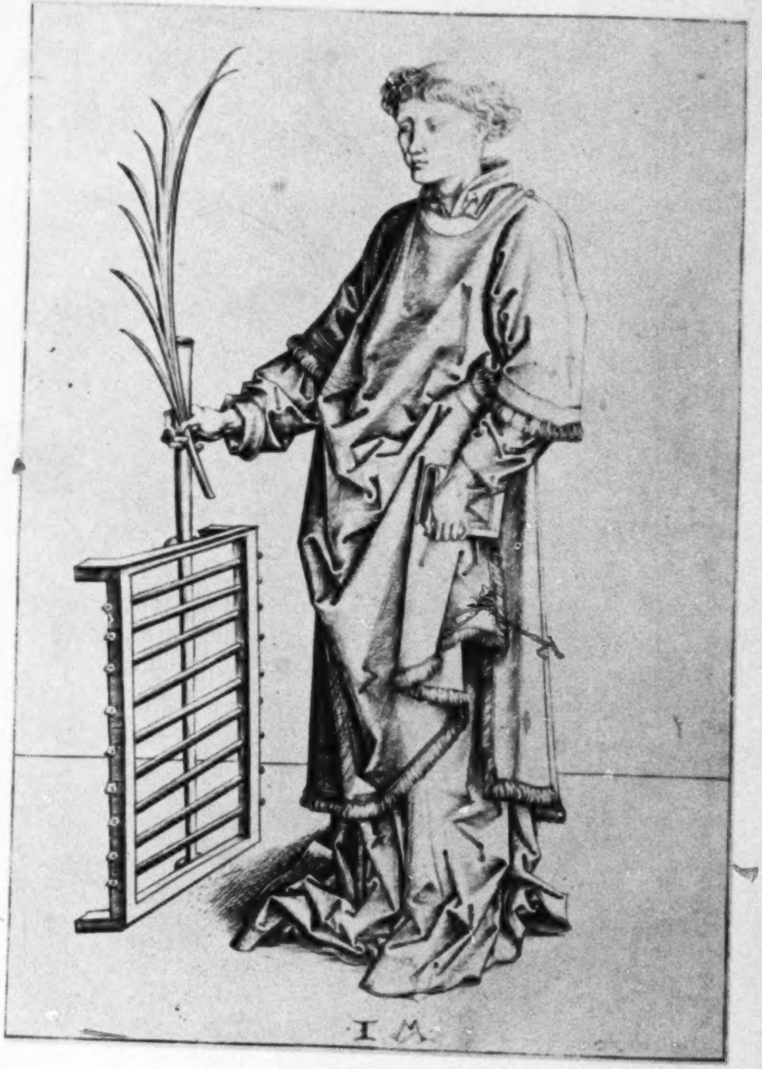
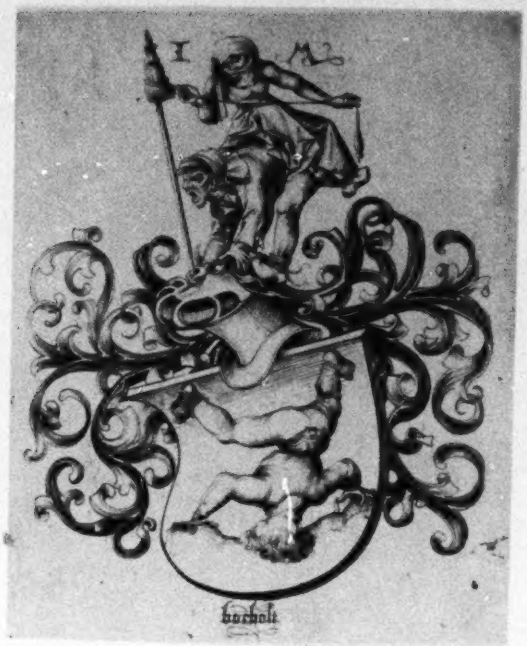

·I M·

206



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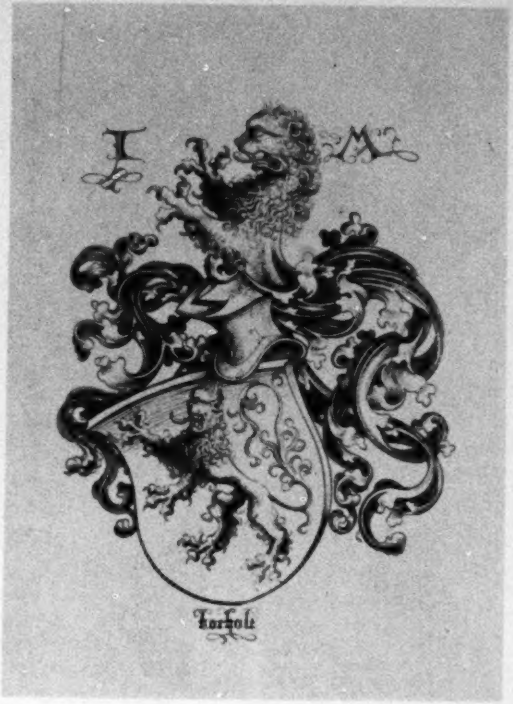

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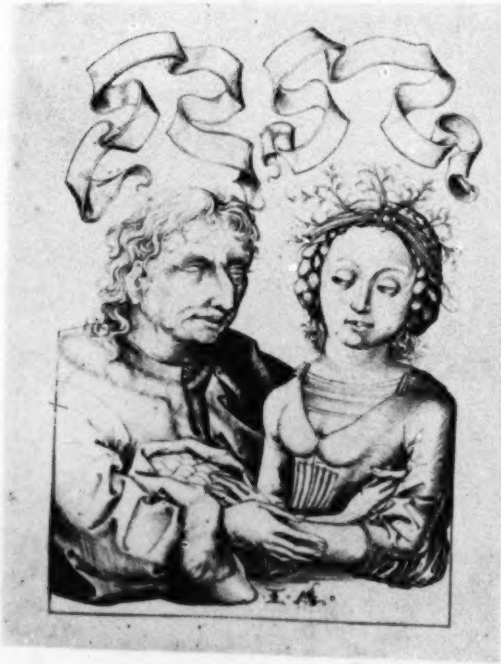

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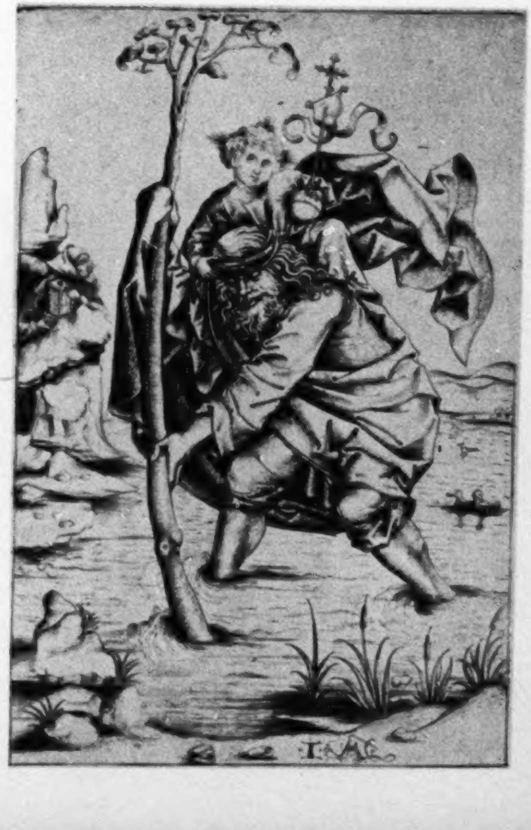
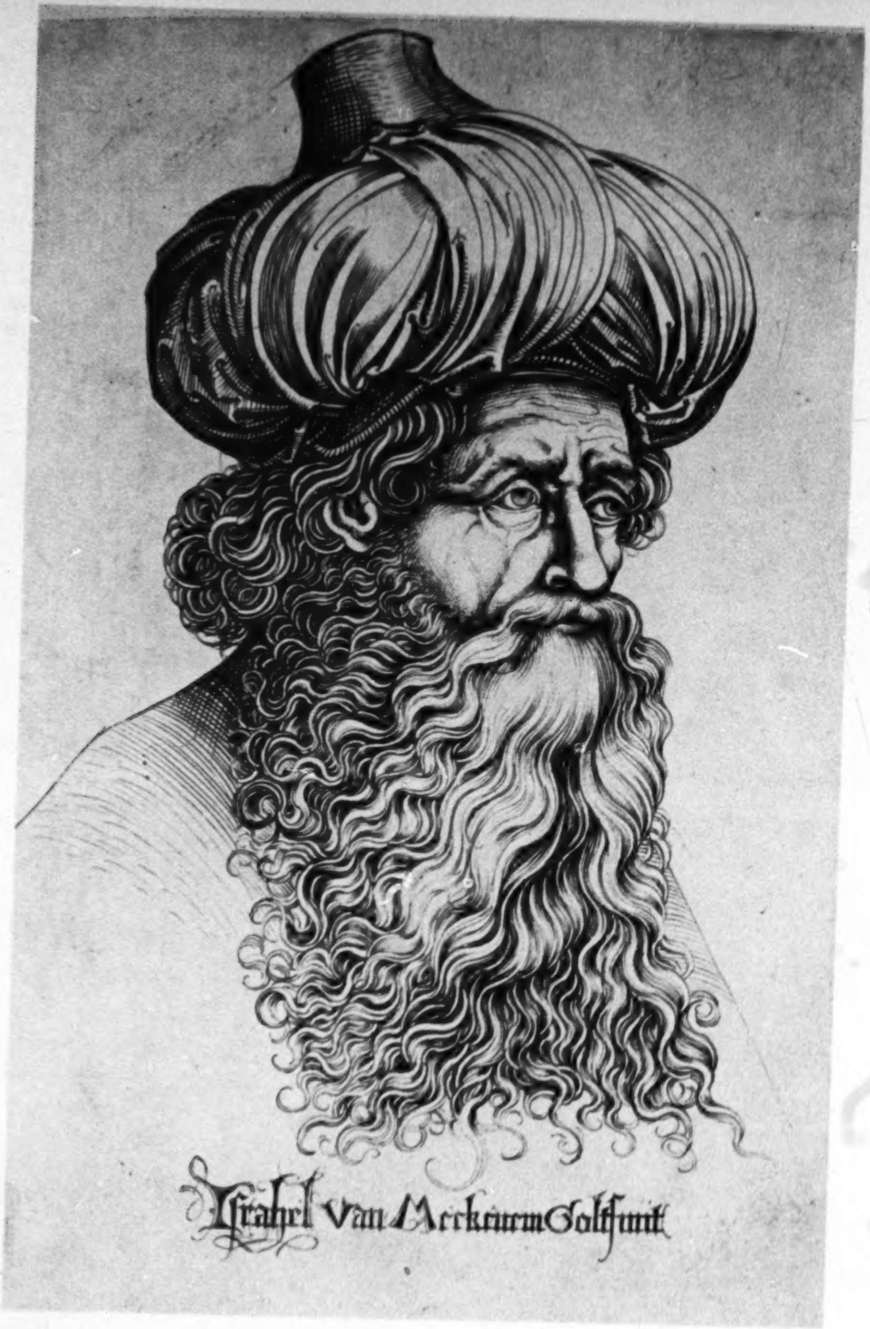
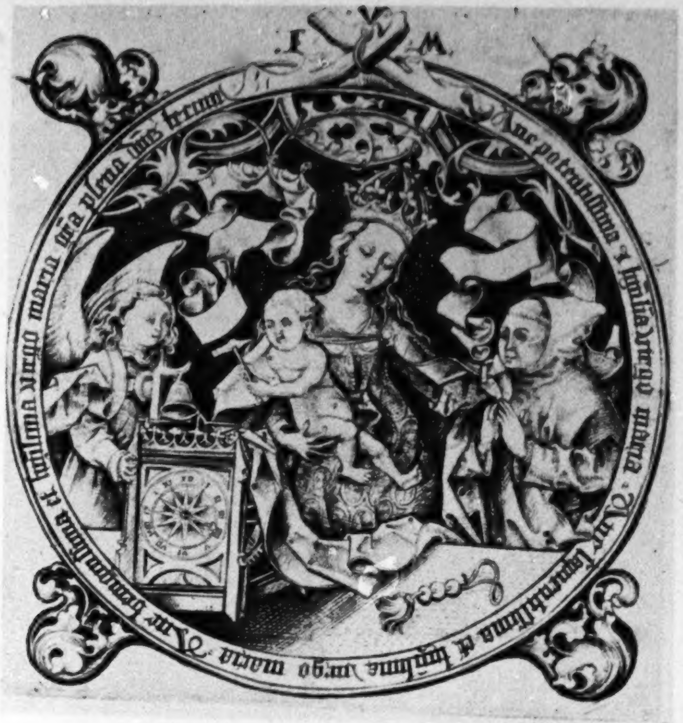



Israhel van Meckenem Goltsmit

211



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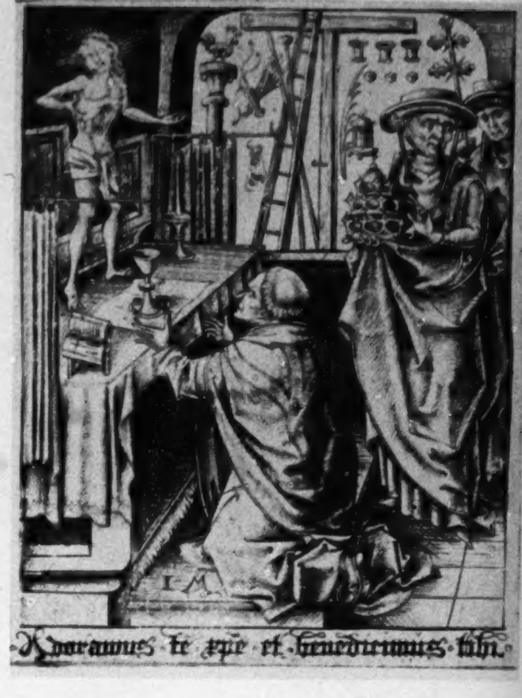
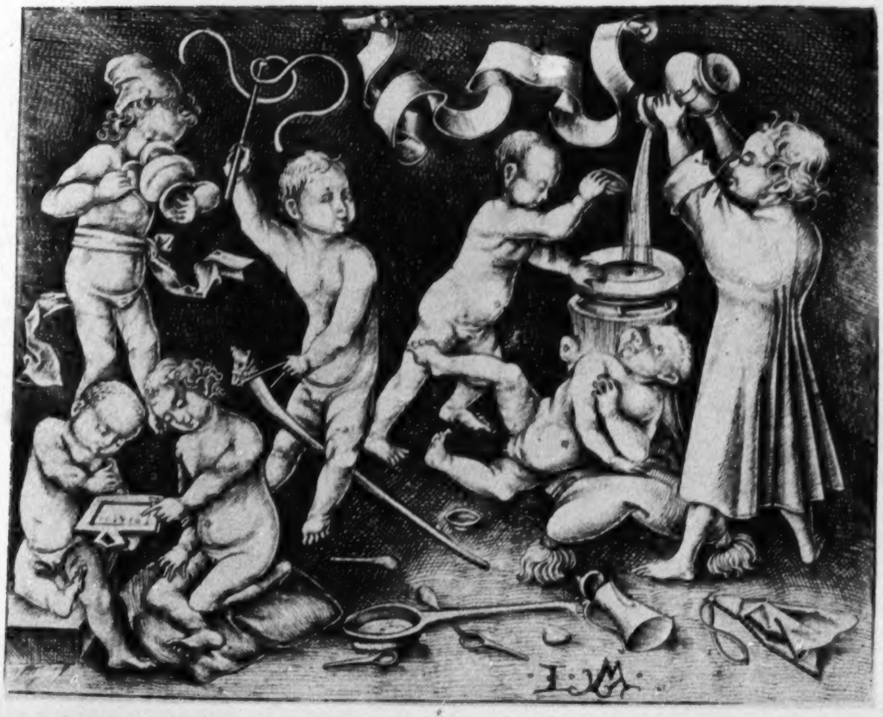

I M
Adoramus te xpe et benedicimus tibi.



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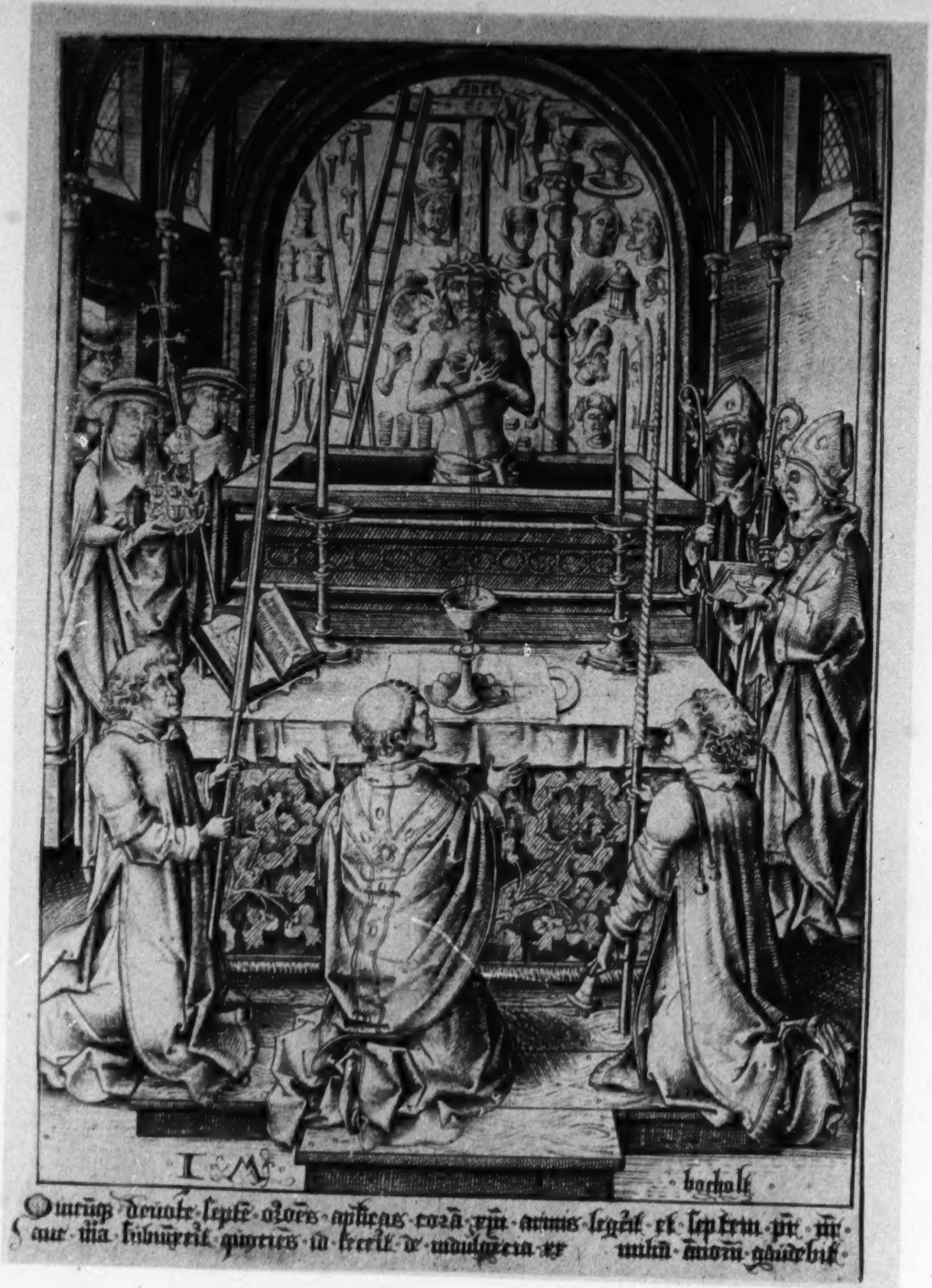
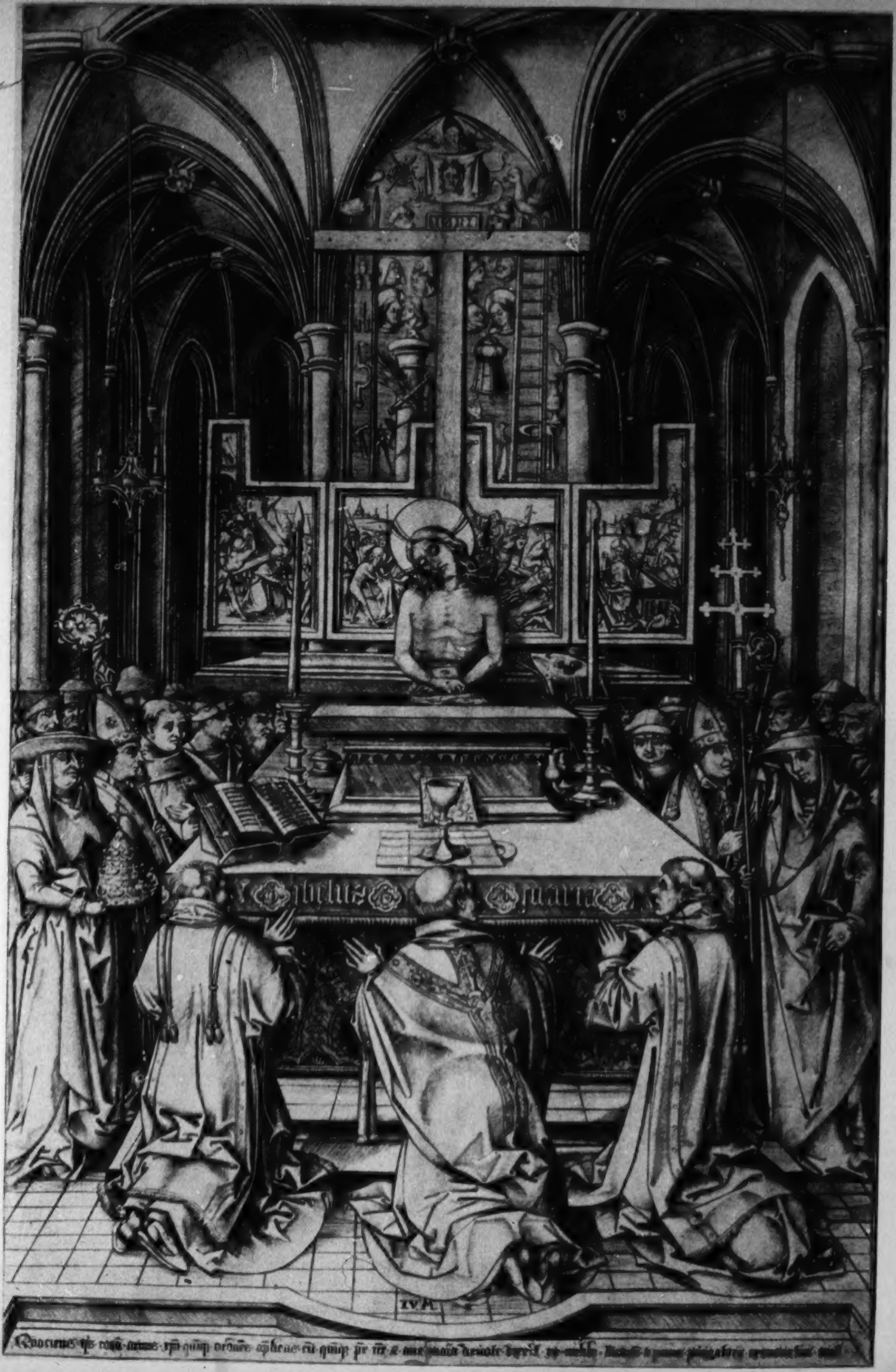
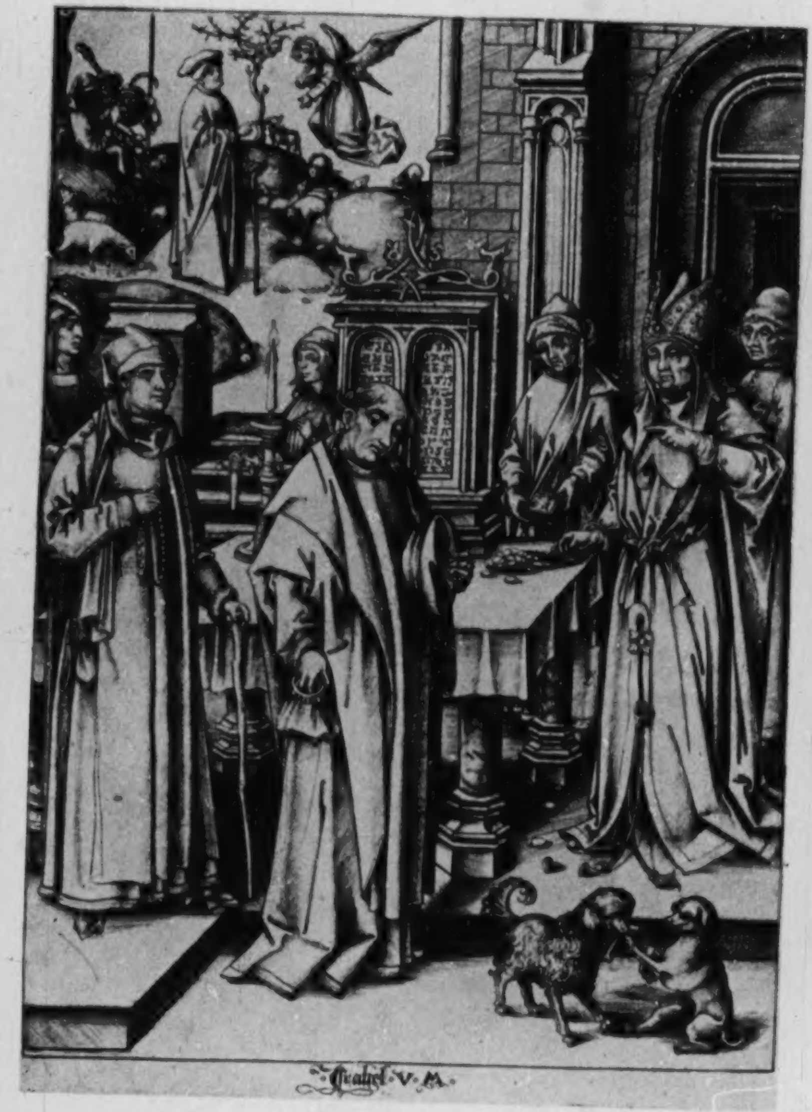

I M
bocholt
Quicūqȝ devote septē orōes aplicas corā xpī armis legēit et septem pr̄ nr̄
ave mā subiūxerit quoties id fecerit de indulgentia xx milia annorū gaudebit


ihesus
maria
IVM

215



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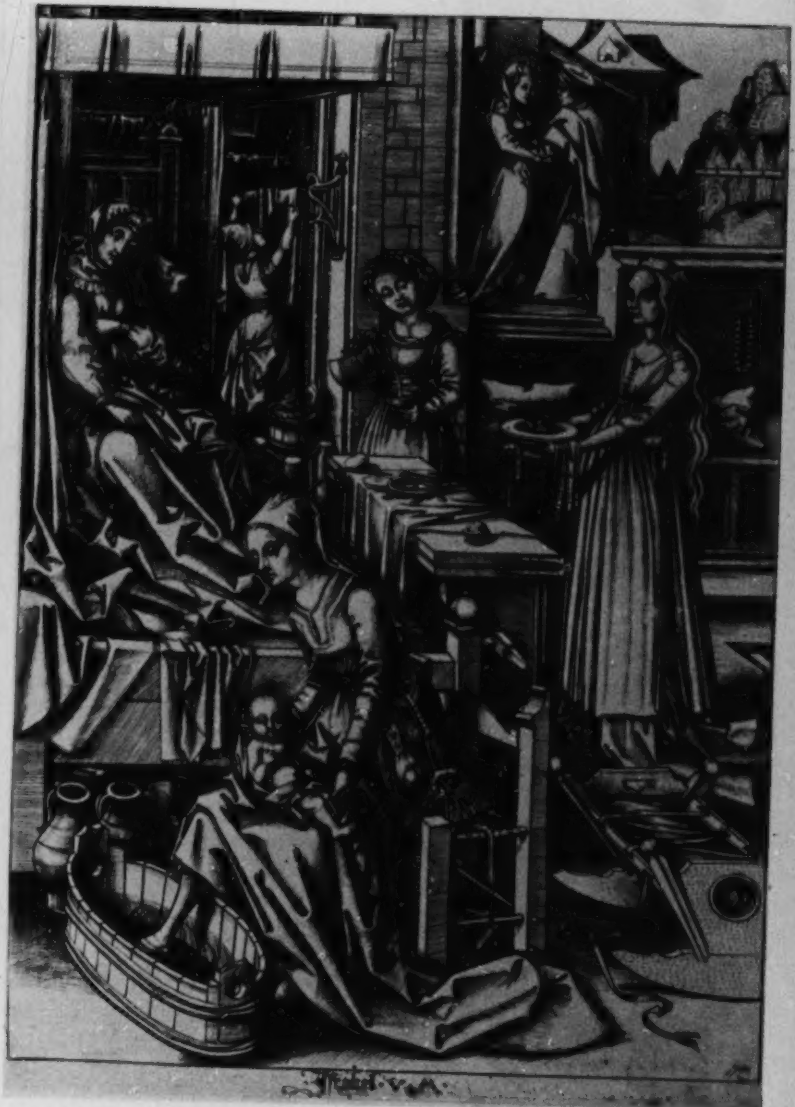

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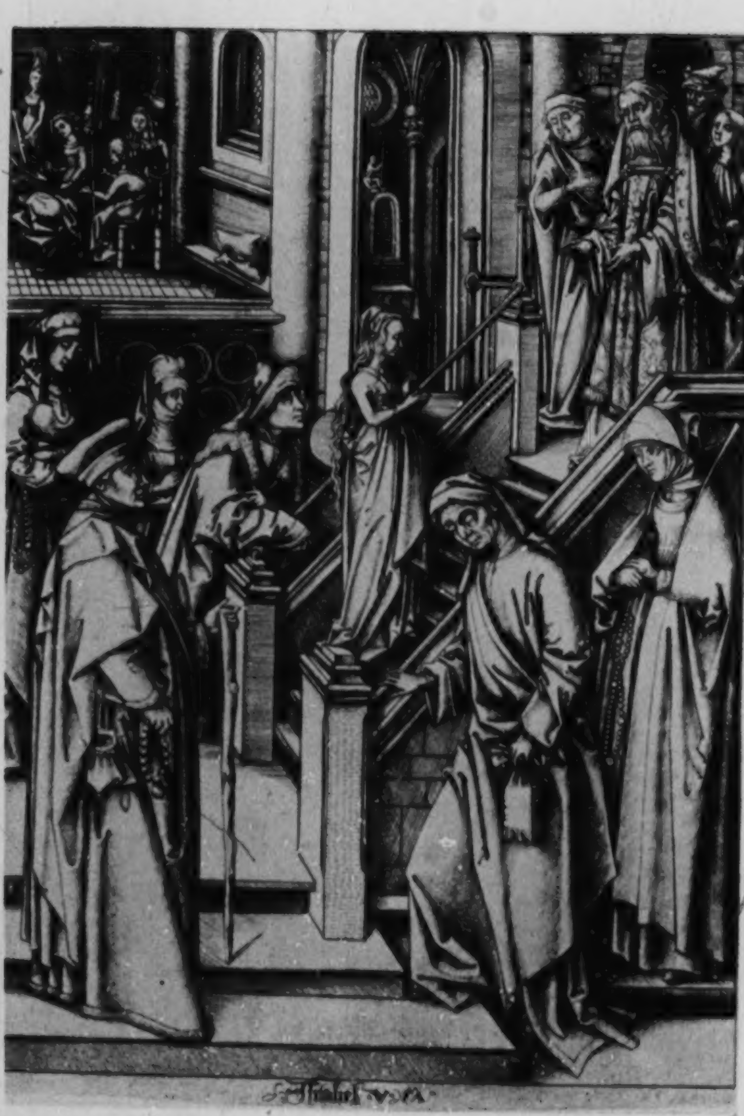

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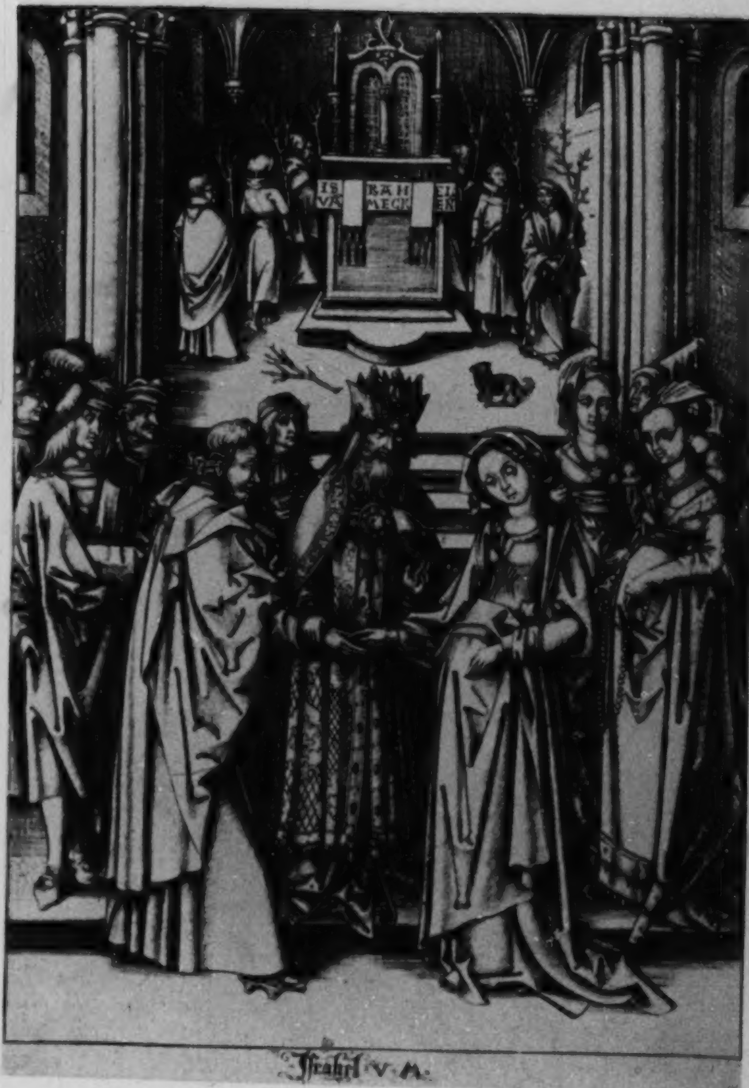
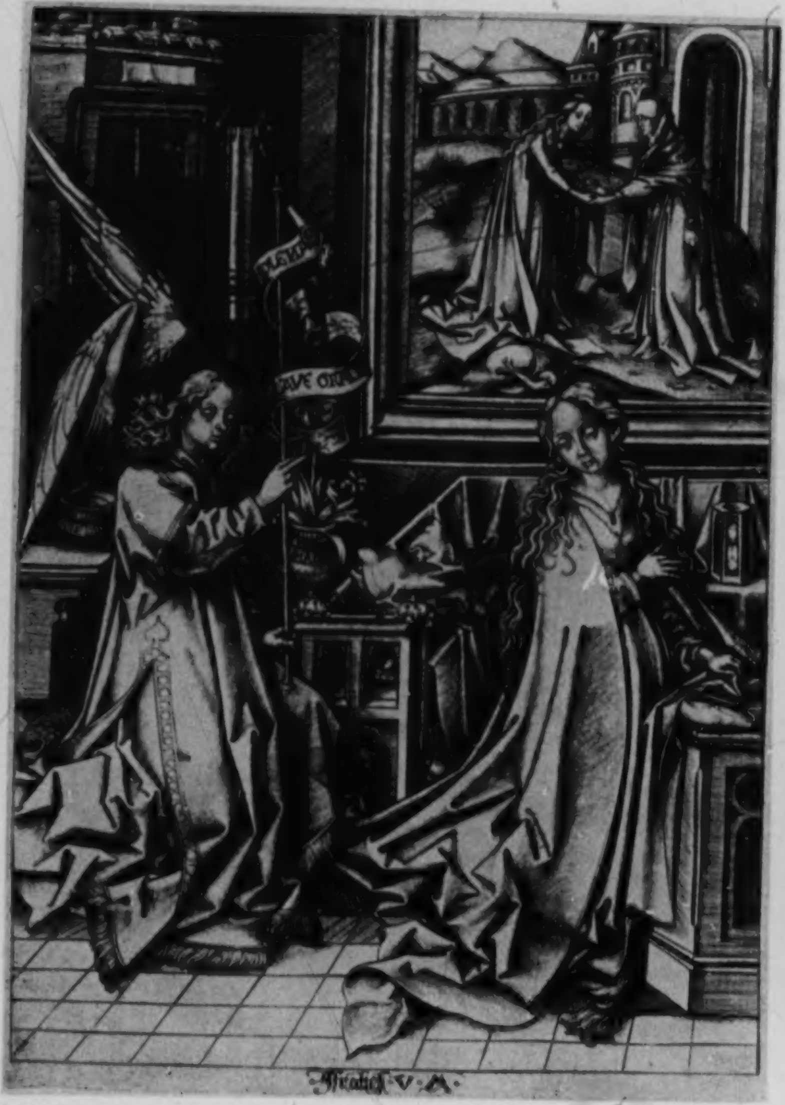
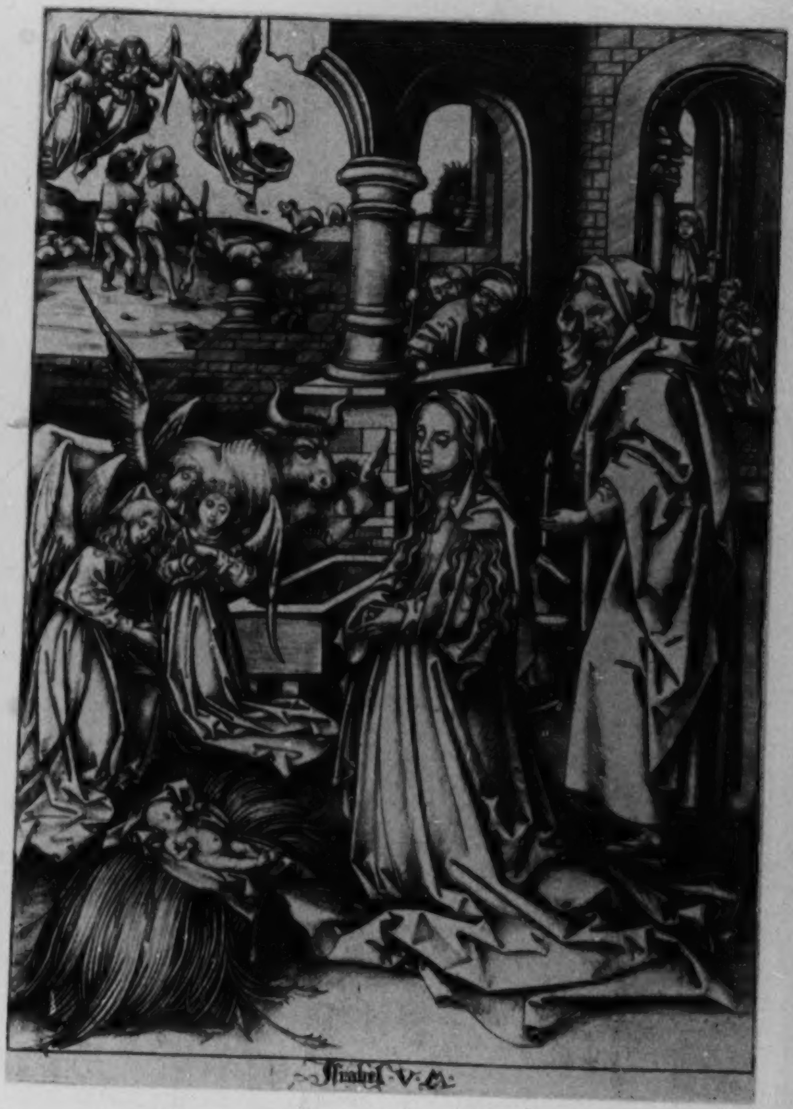

IS RAH EL
VA MECK EN
Israhel v M

219


AVE GRA
Israhel V·M

220



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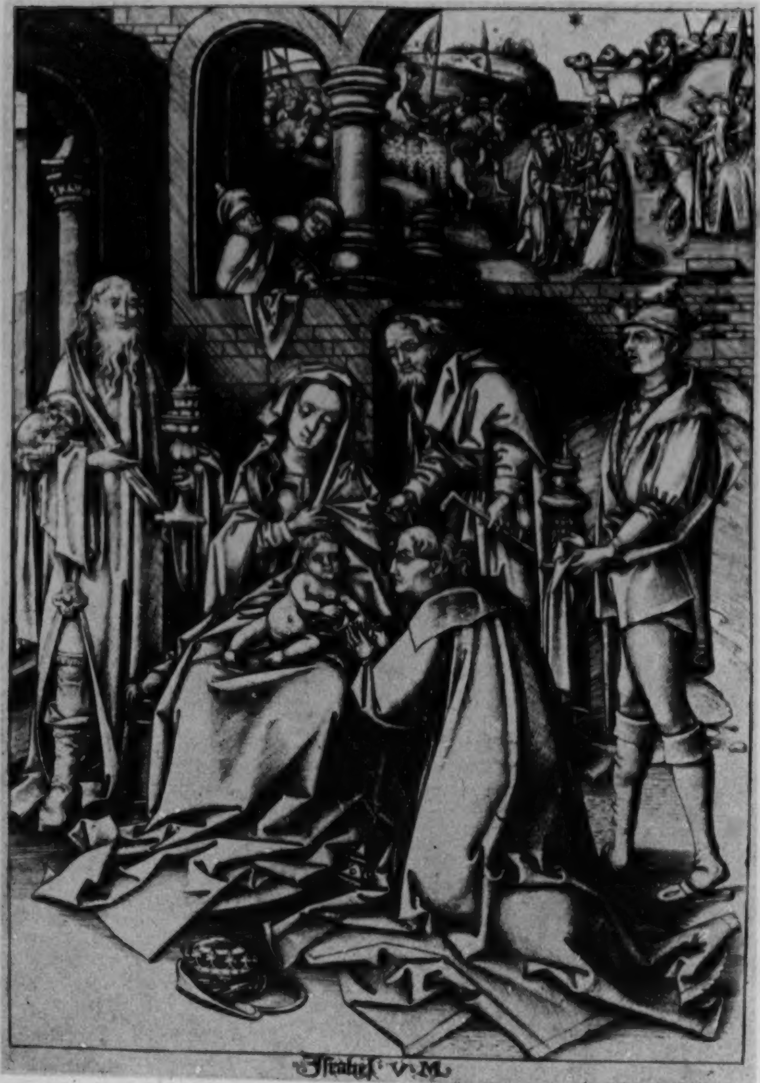

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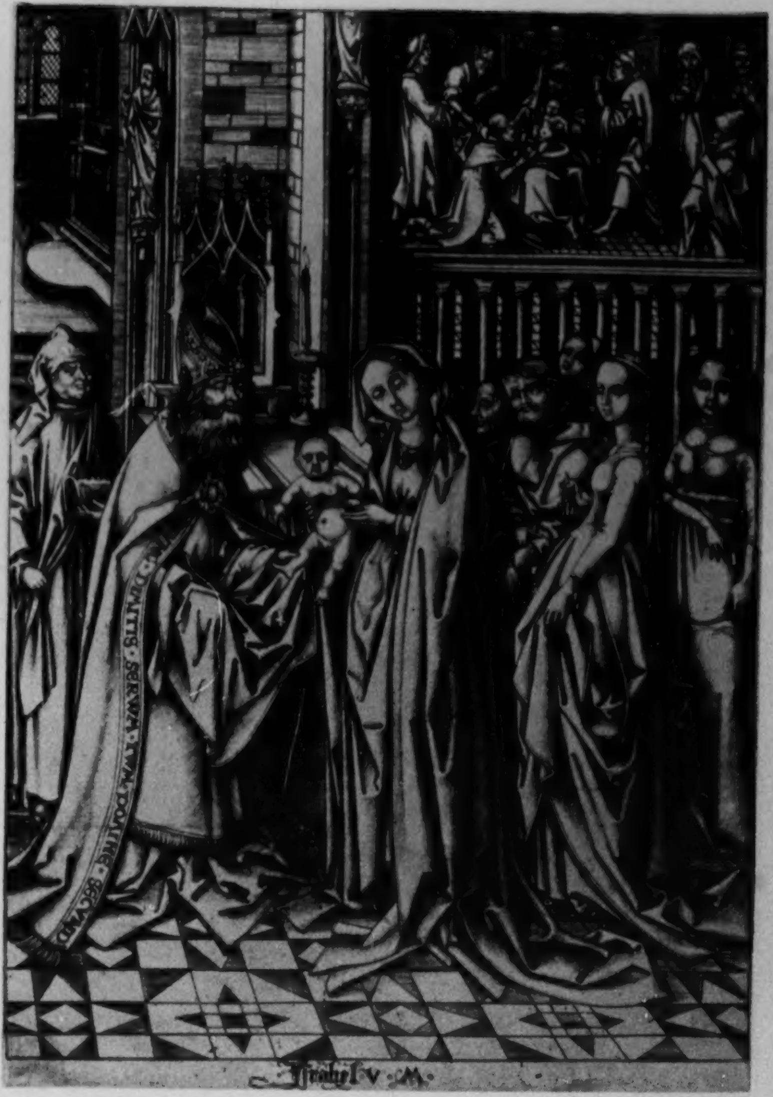
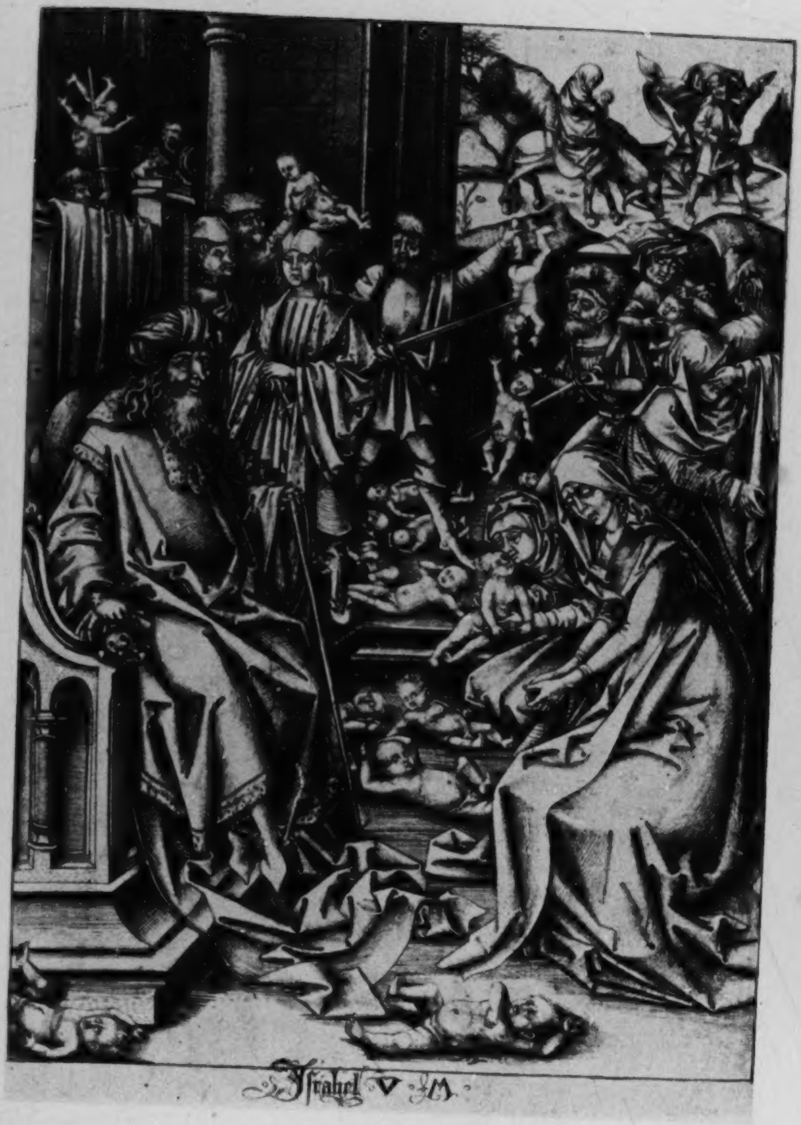

DIMITIS · SERWM · TWM · DOMINE · SECVND
Israhel v M

223



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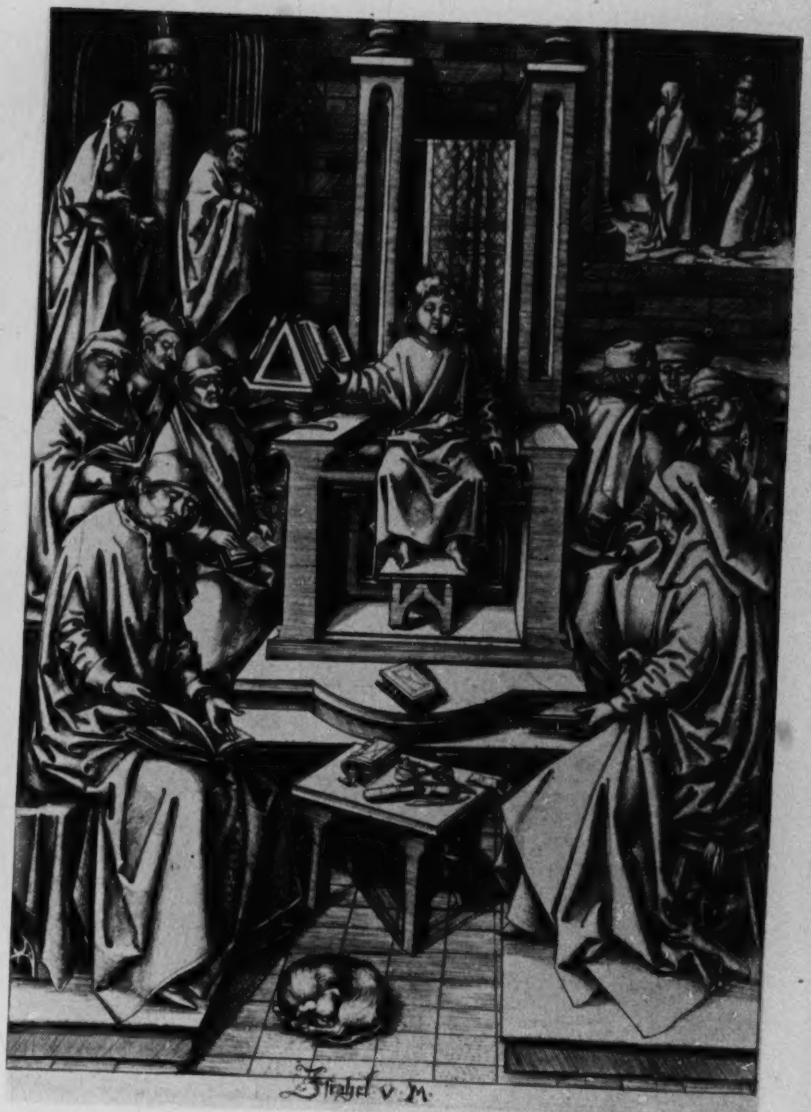

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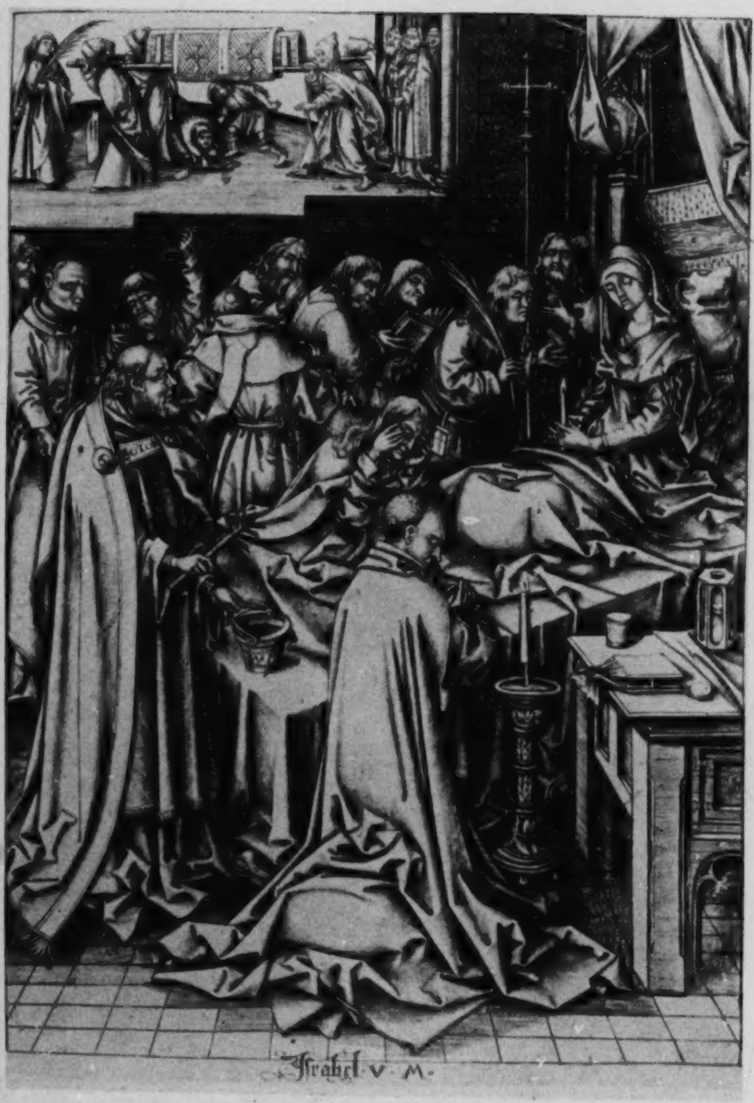
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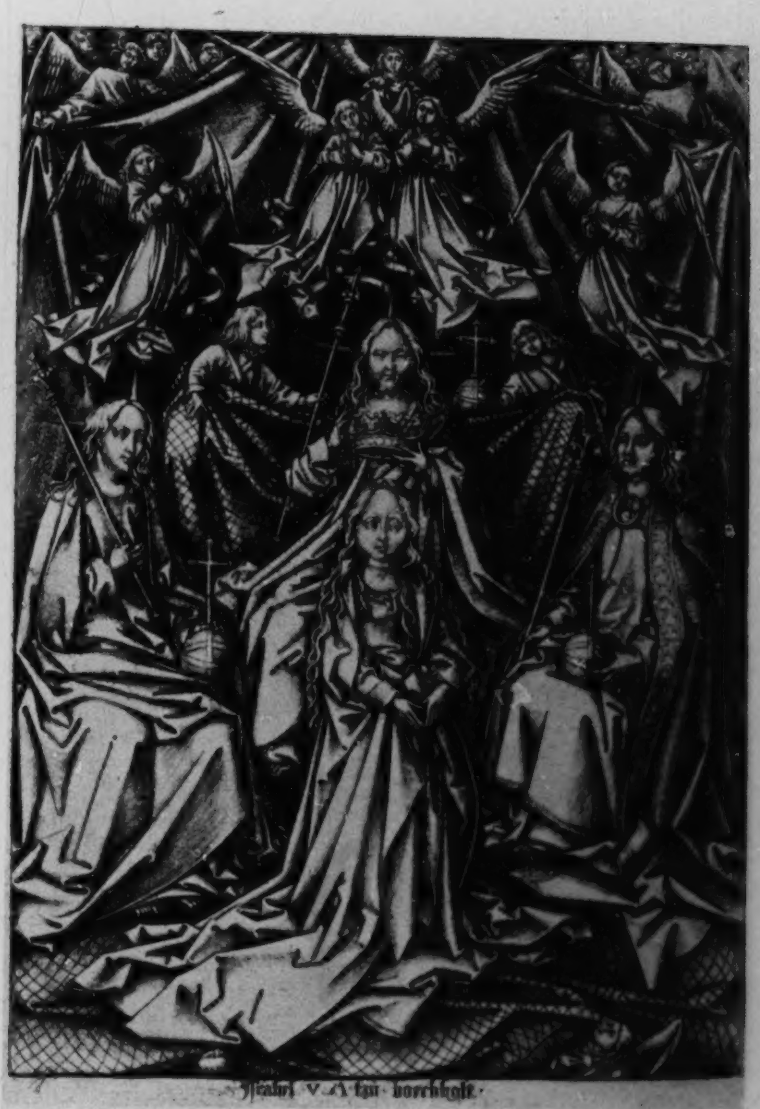
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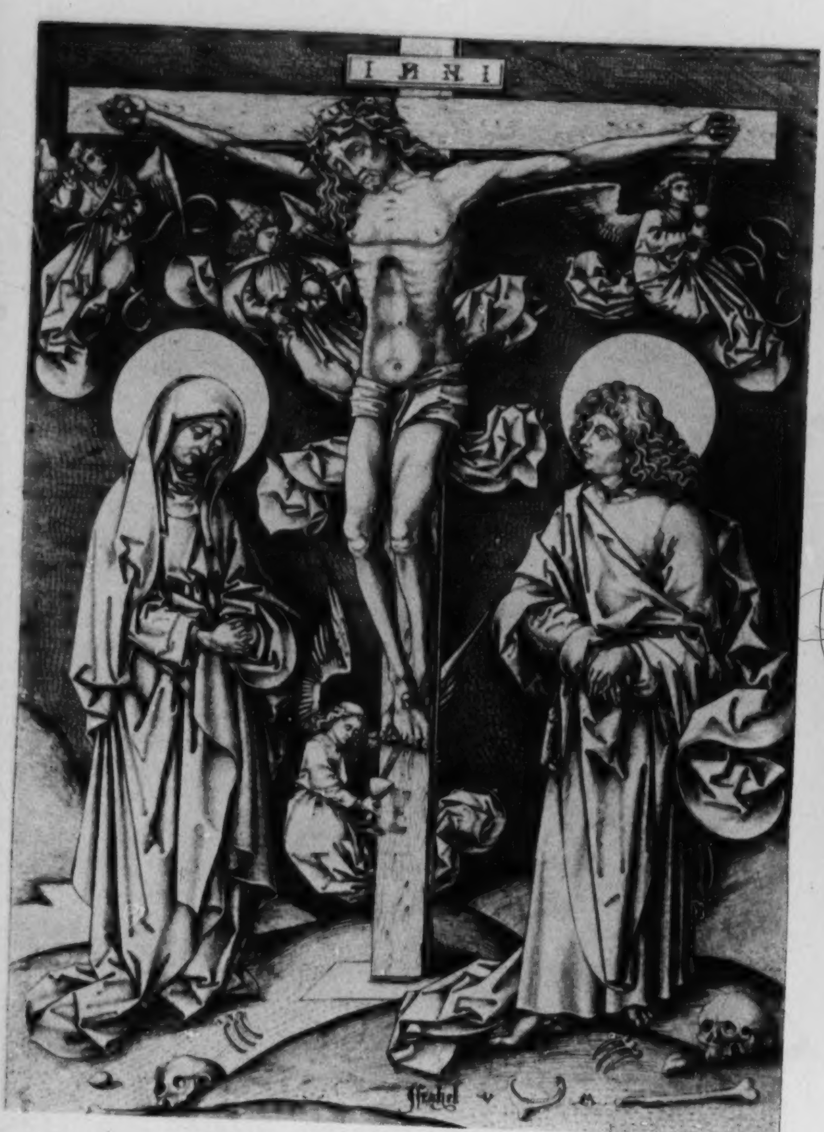
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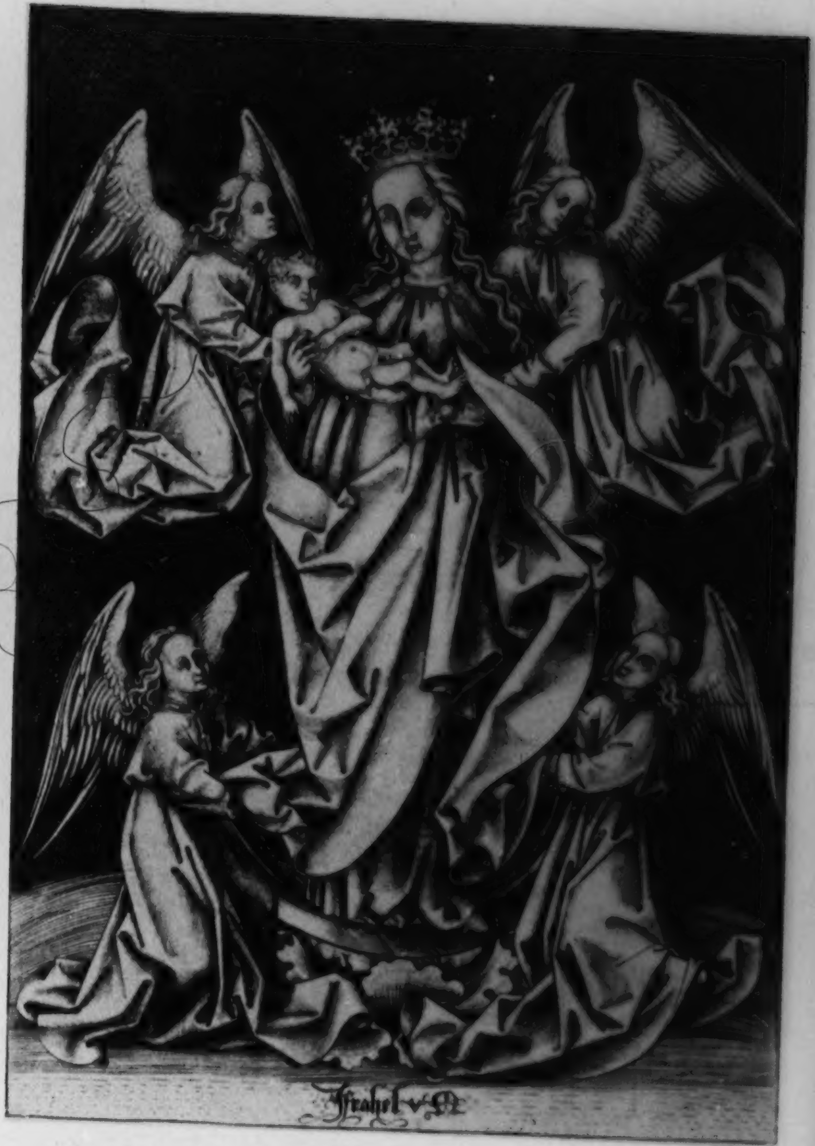
228



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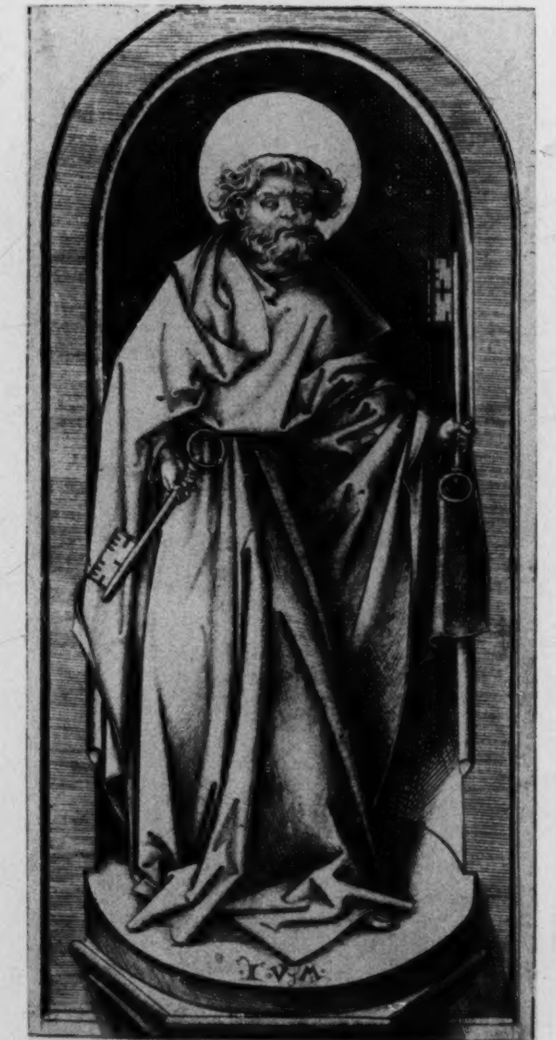
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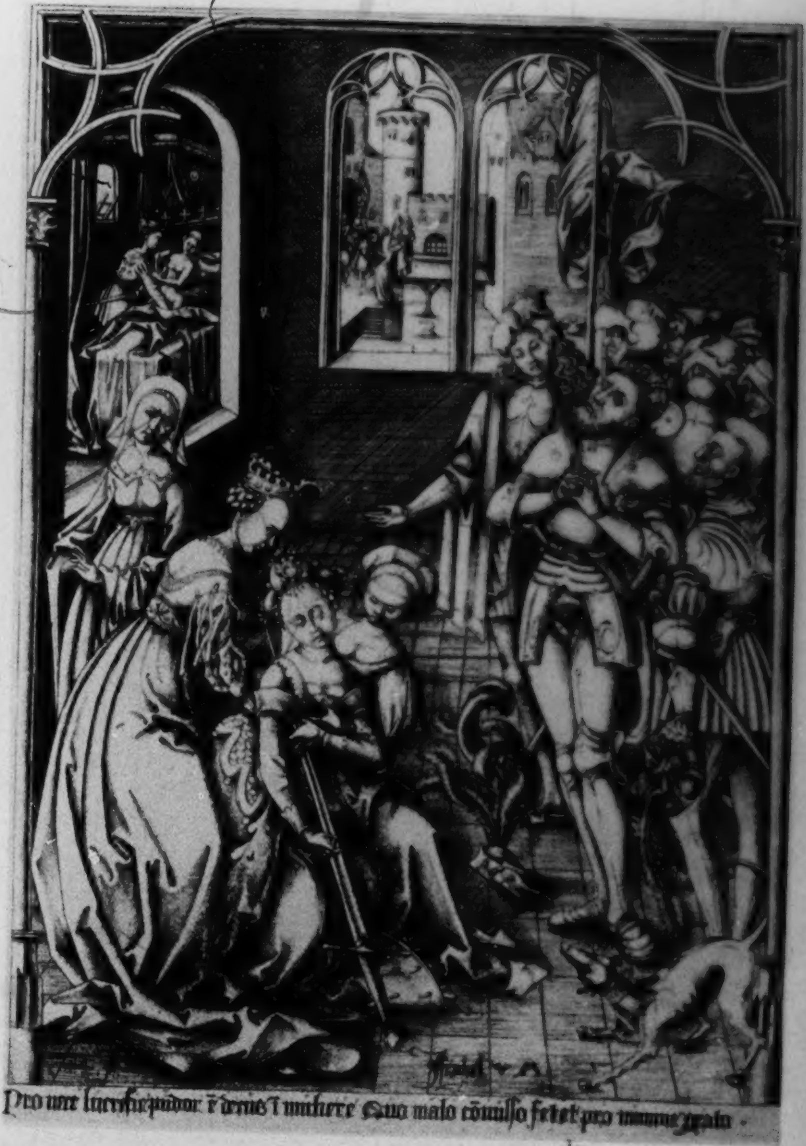
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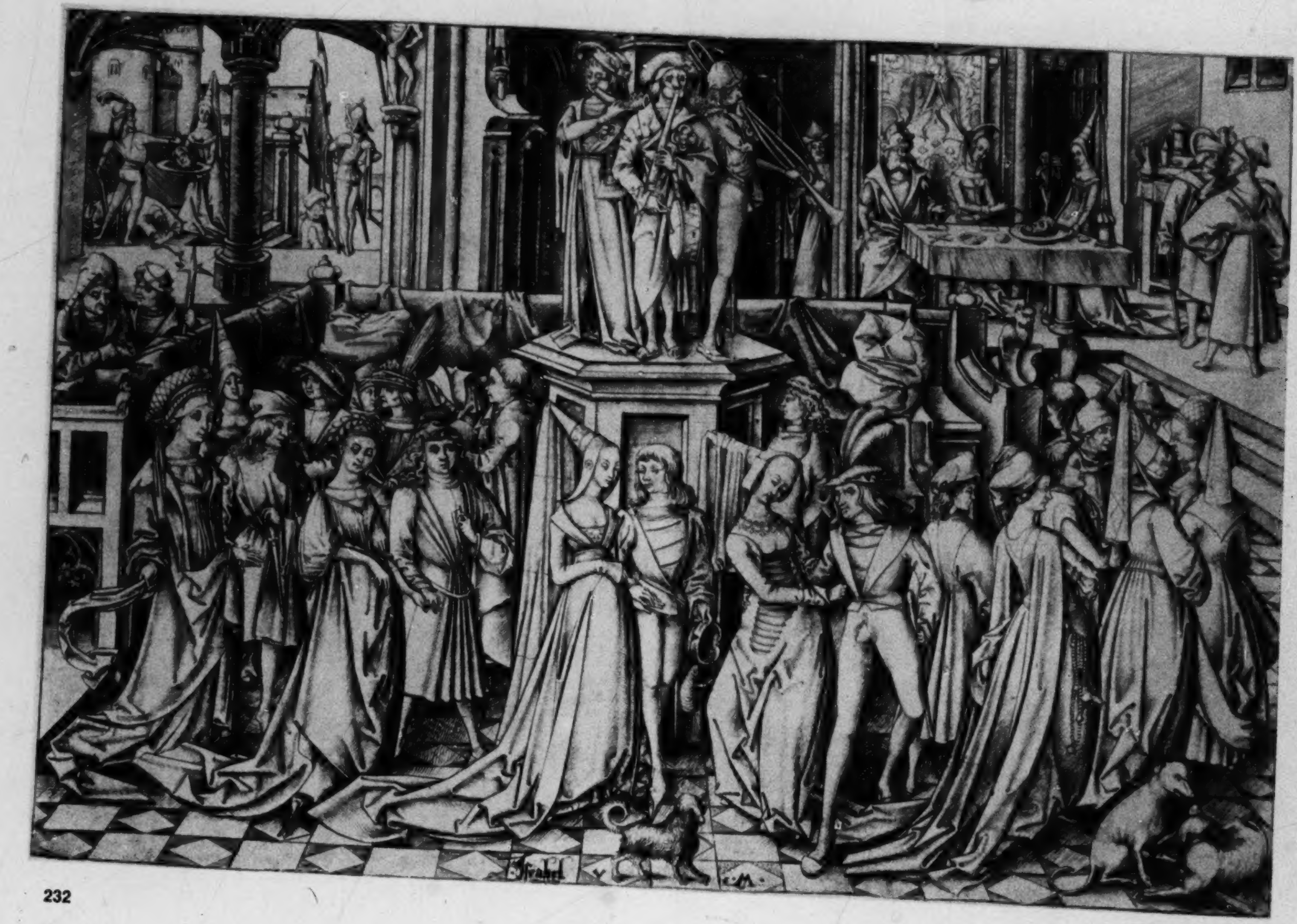
231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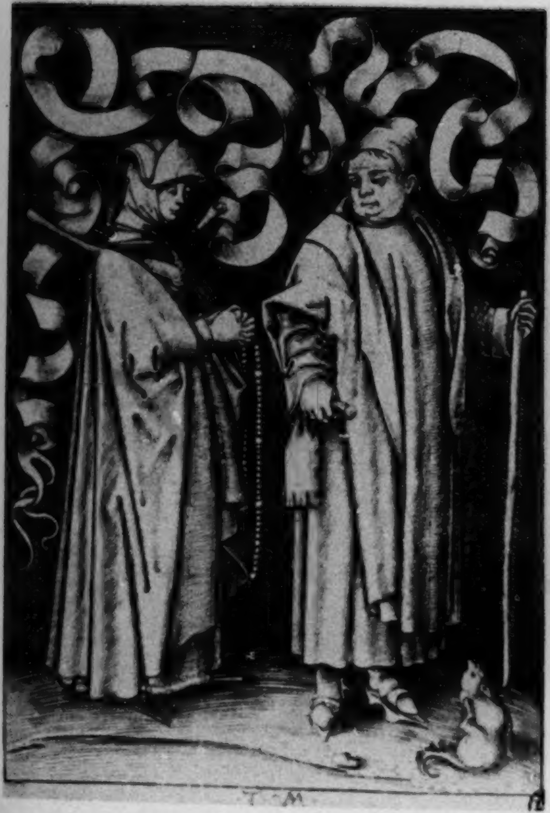

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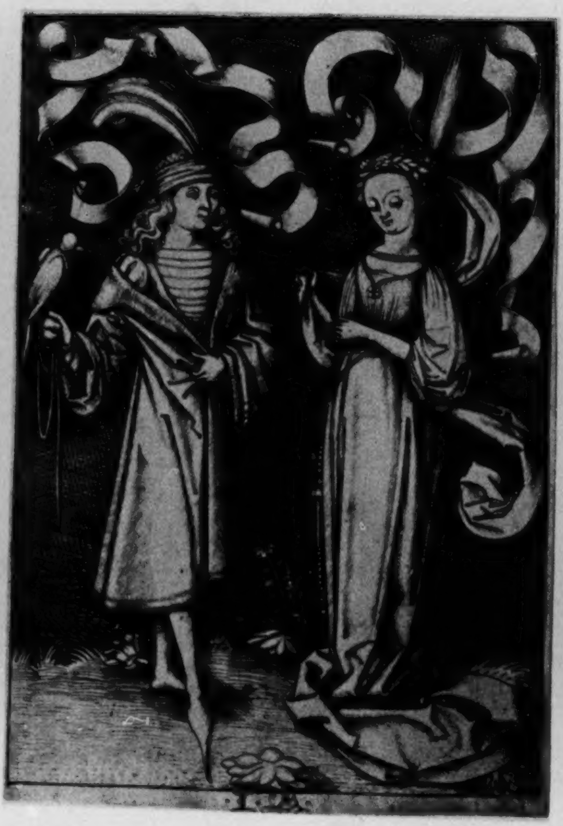

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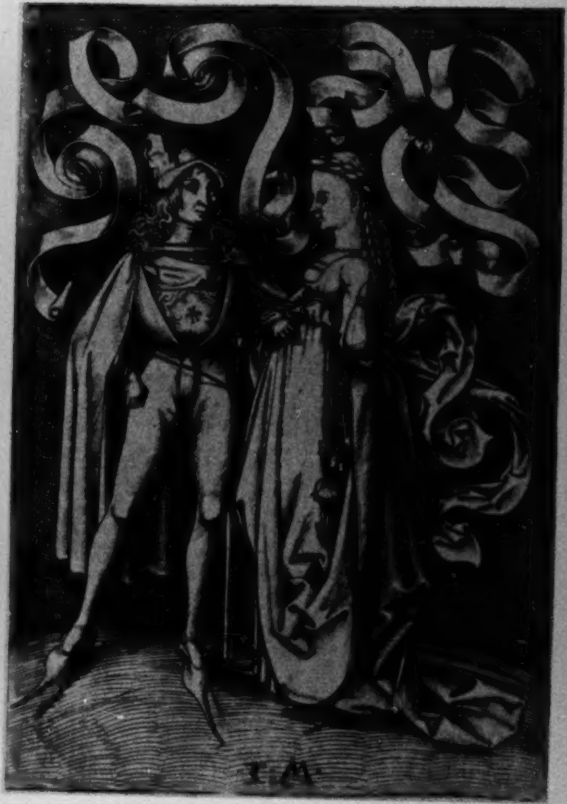

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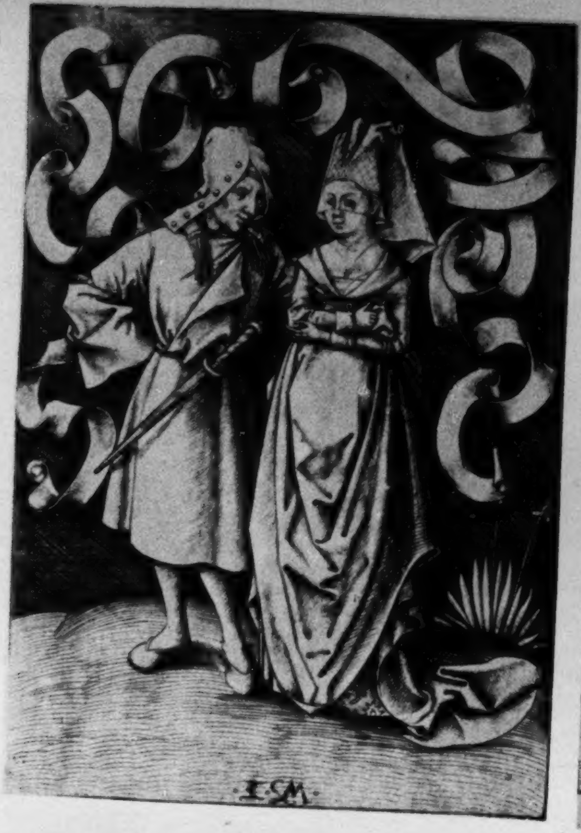

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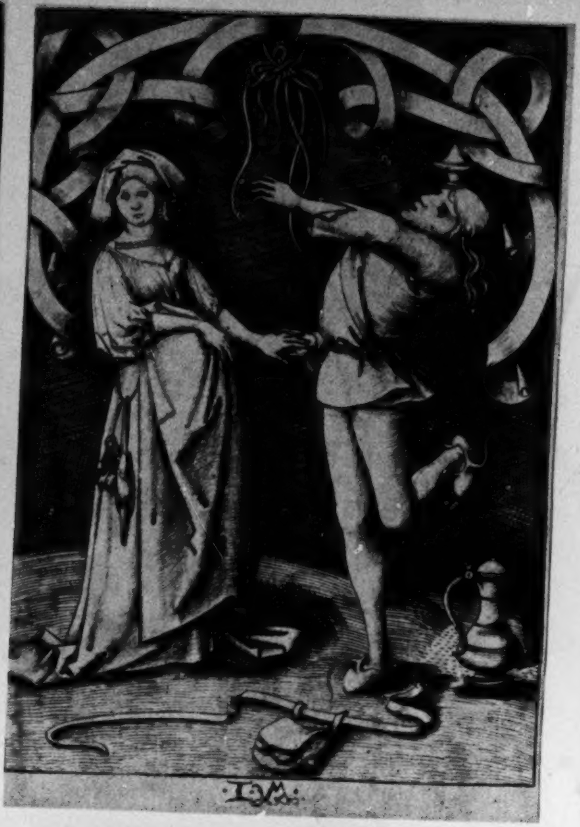

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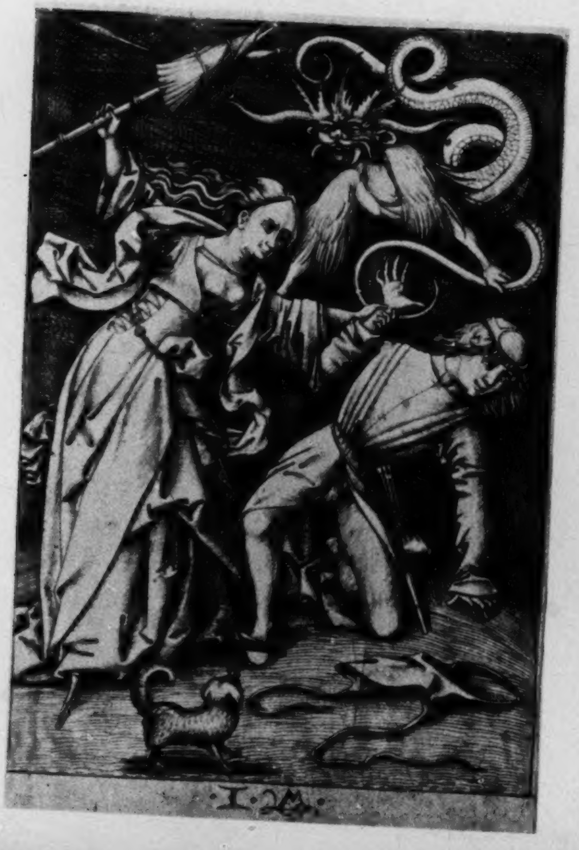

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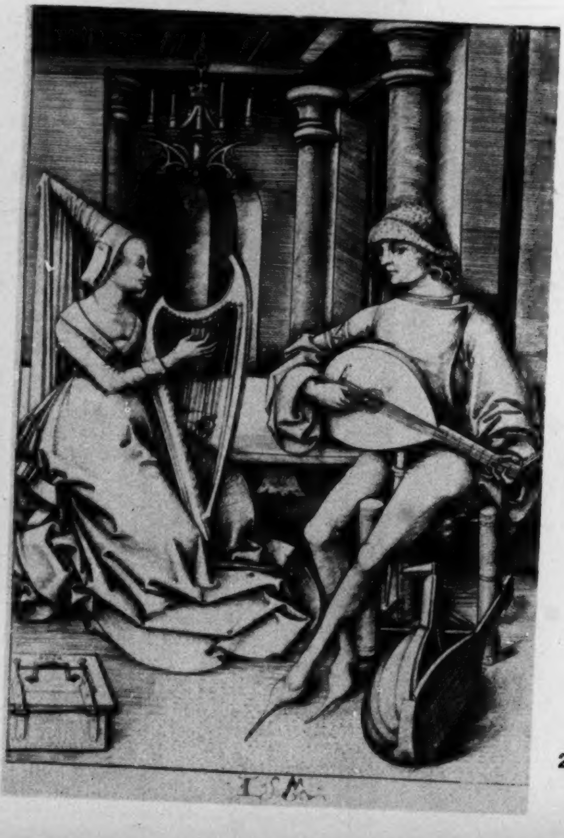

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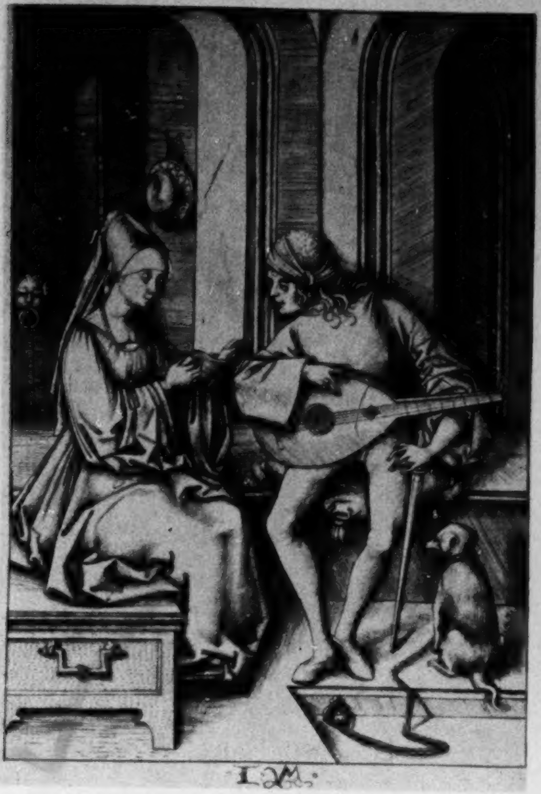

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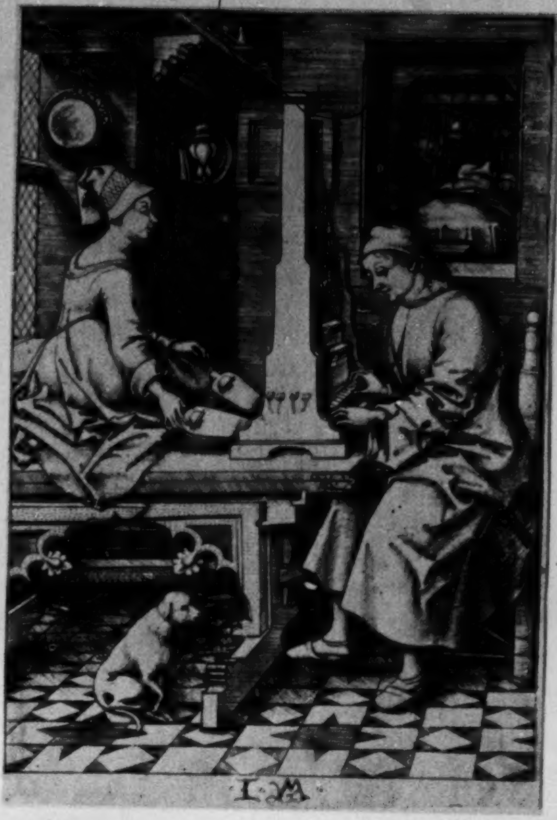

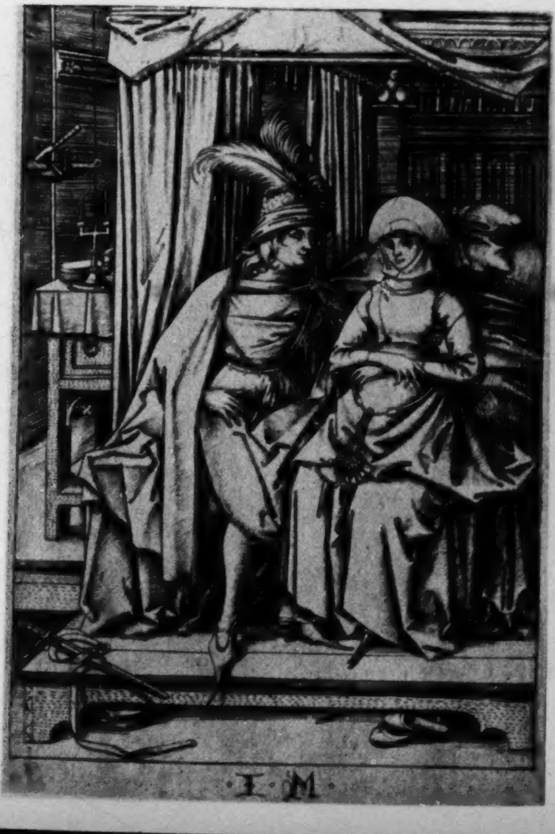

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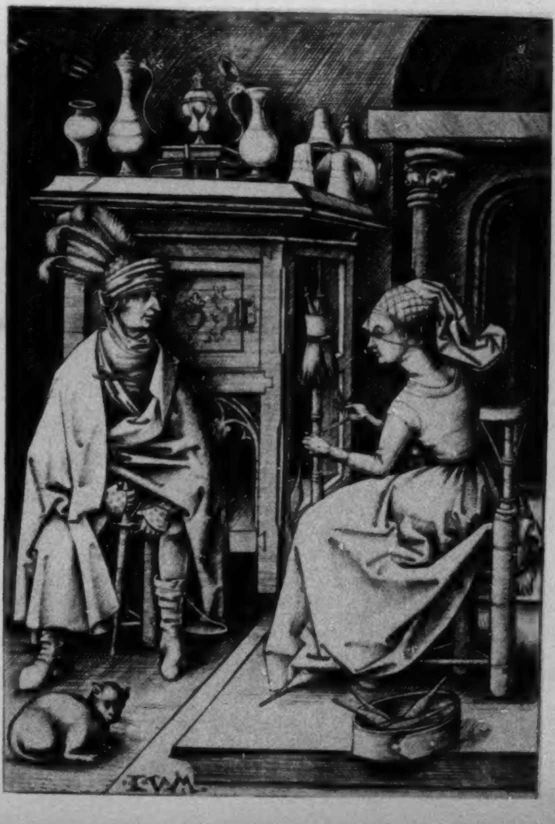

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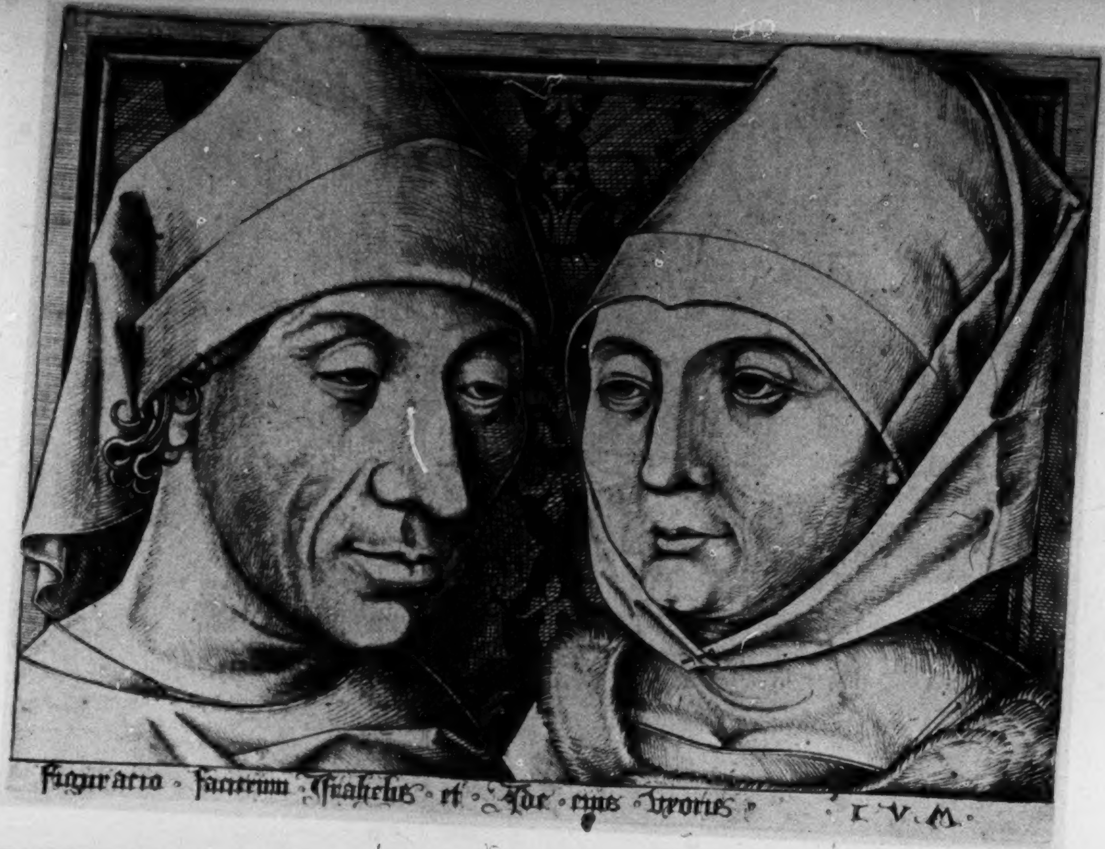
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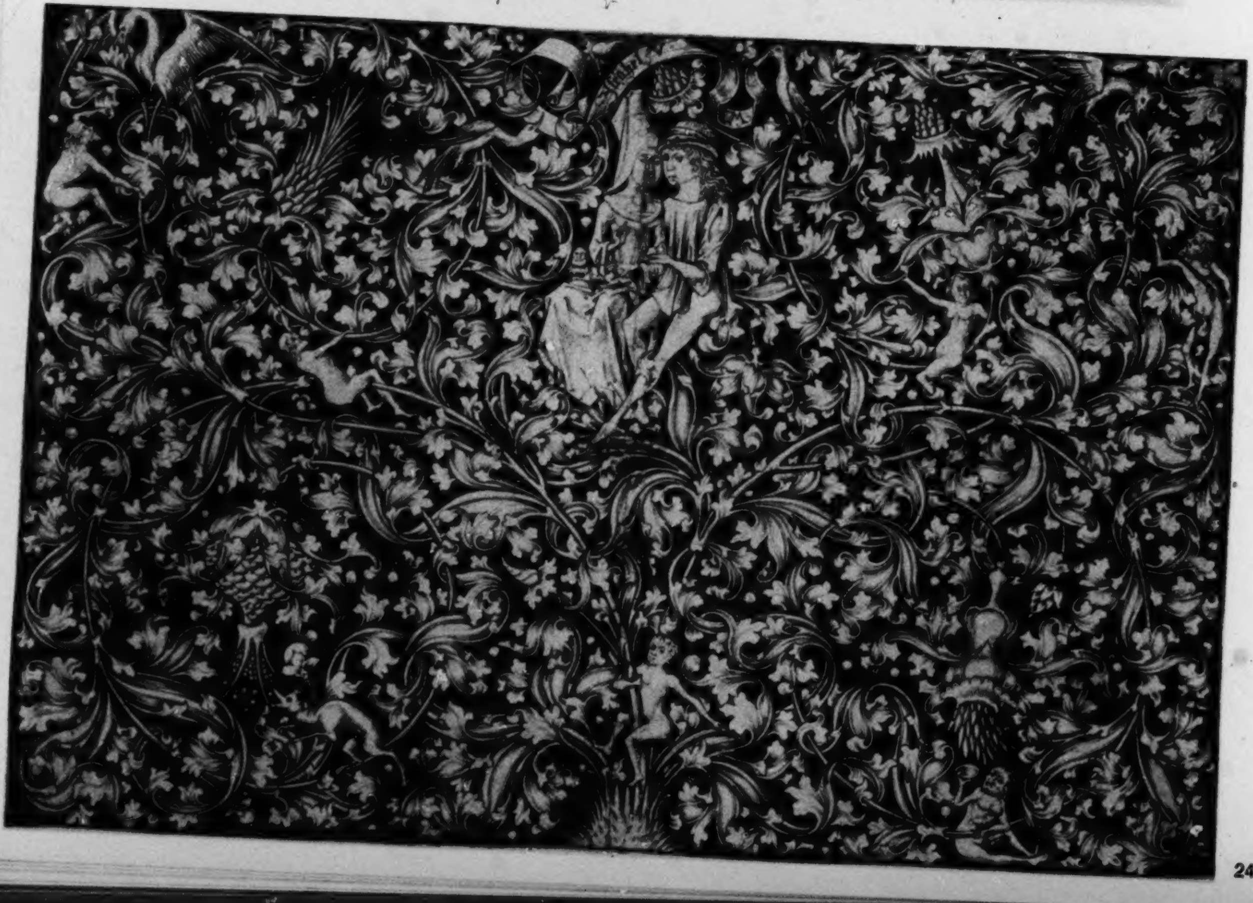

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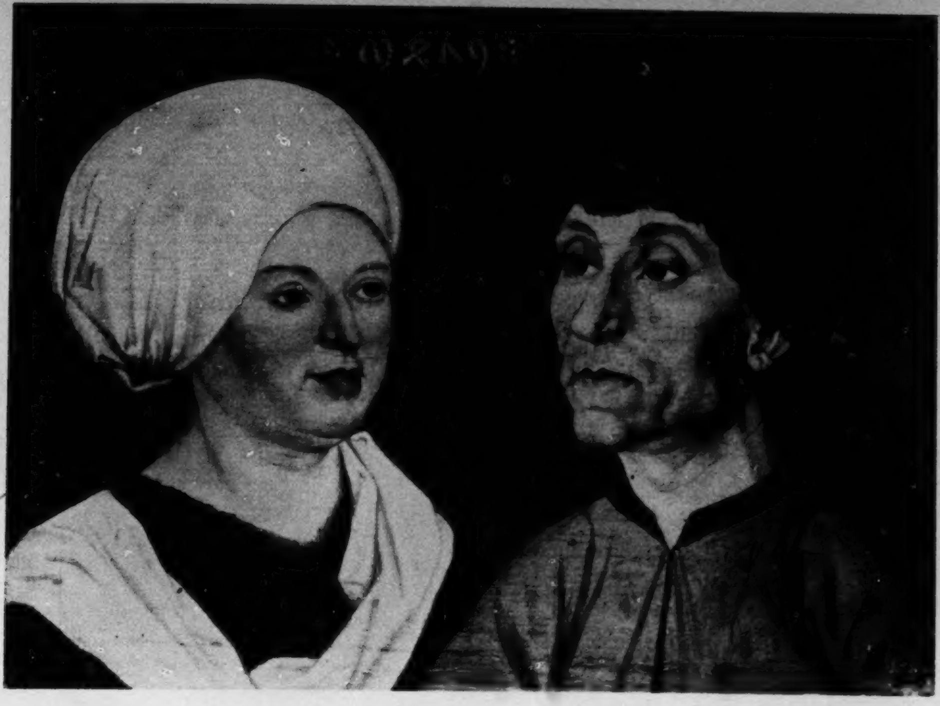

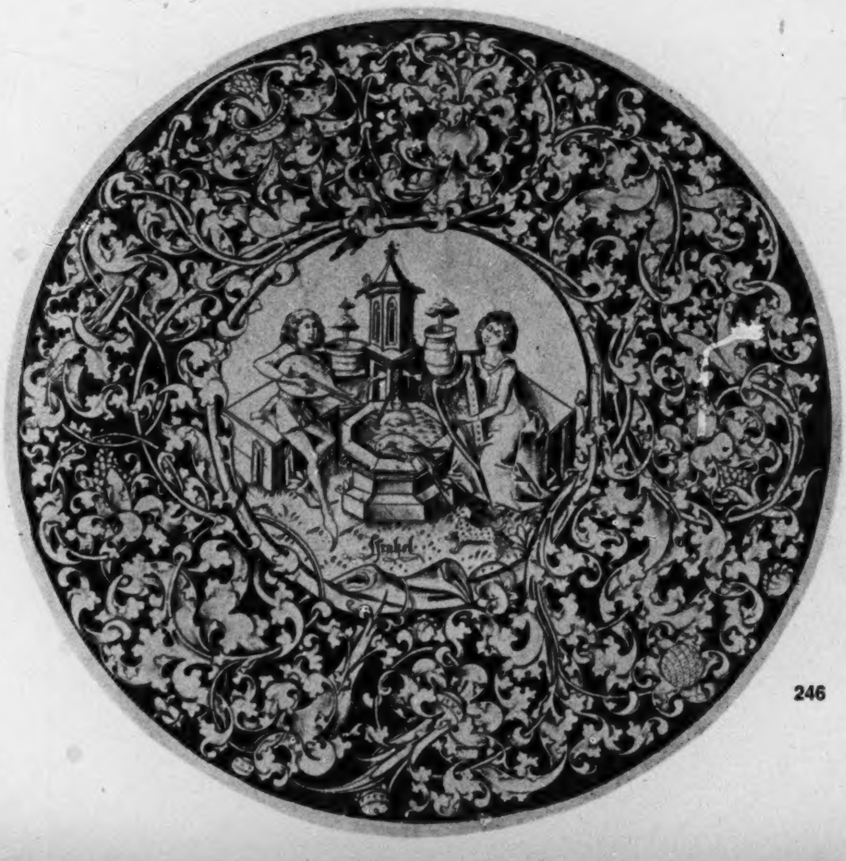
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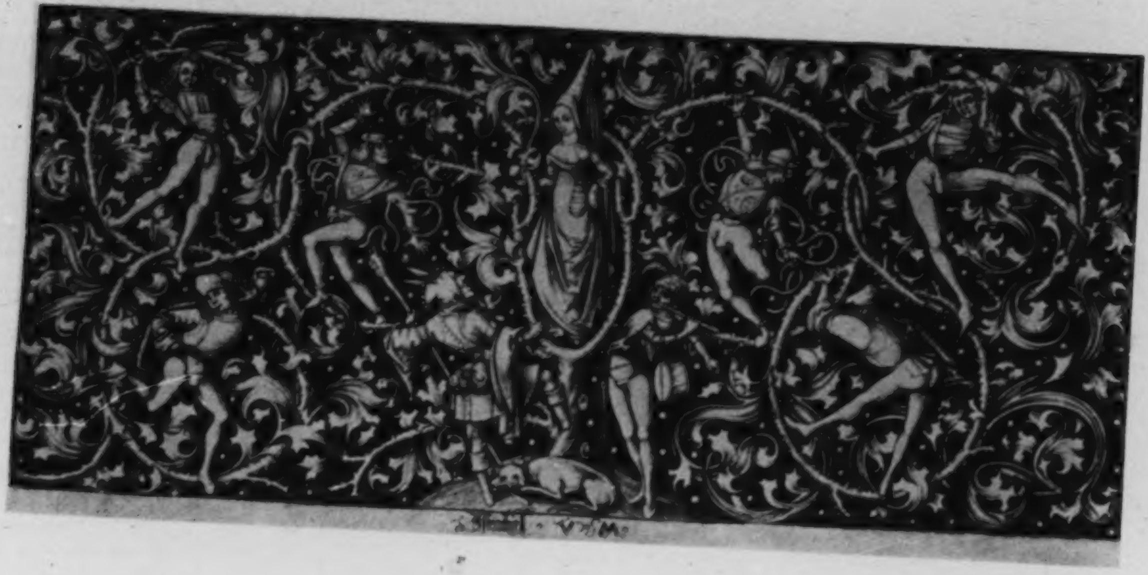
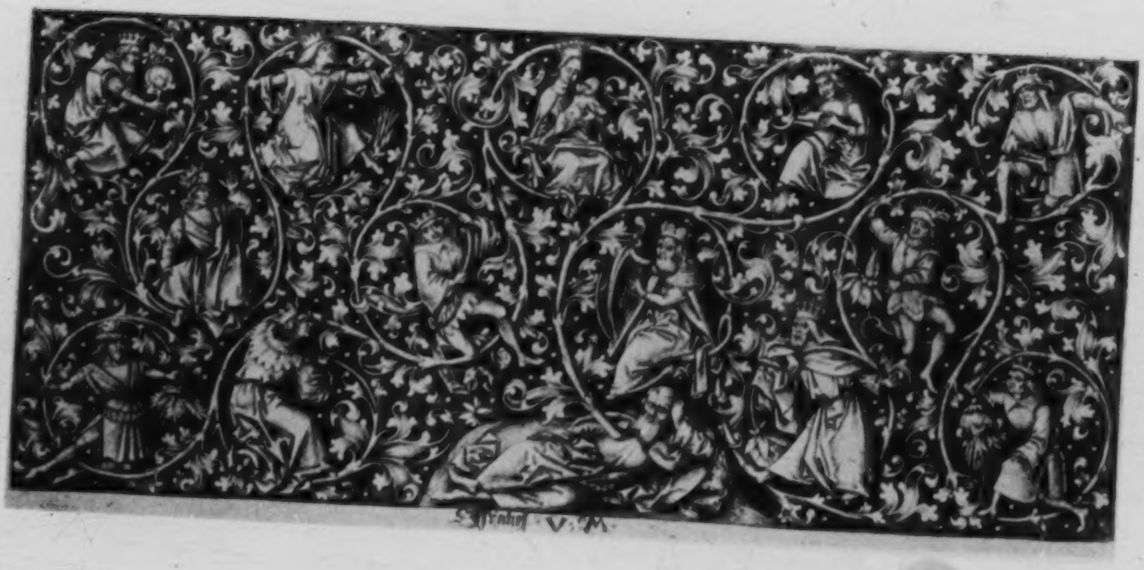
247





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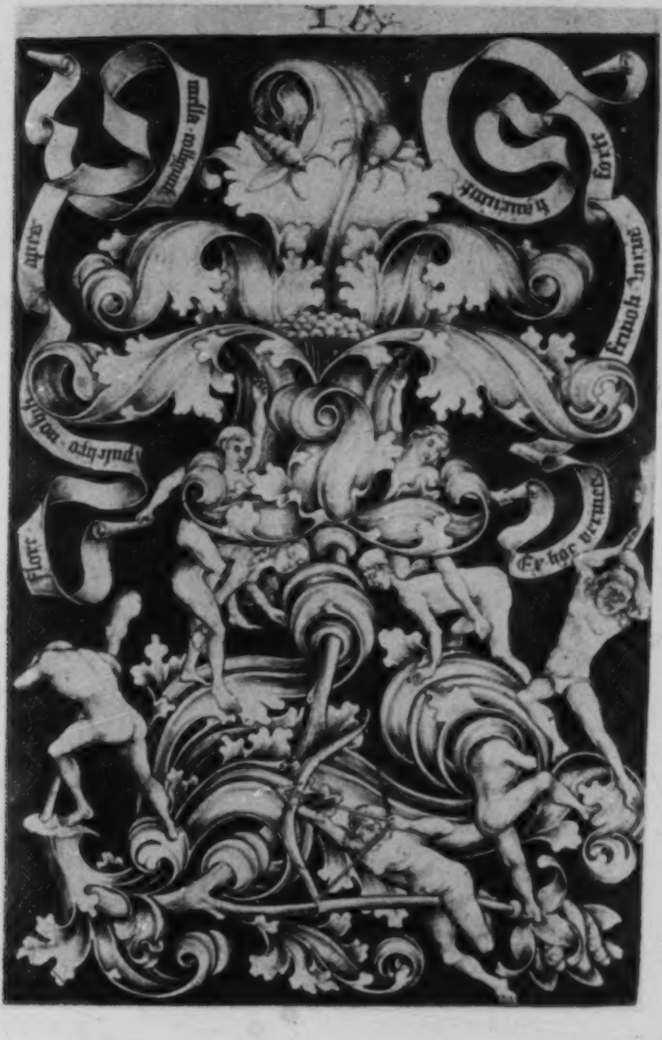
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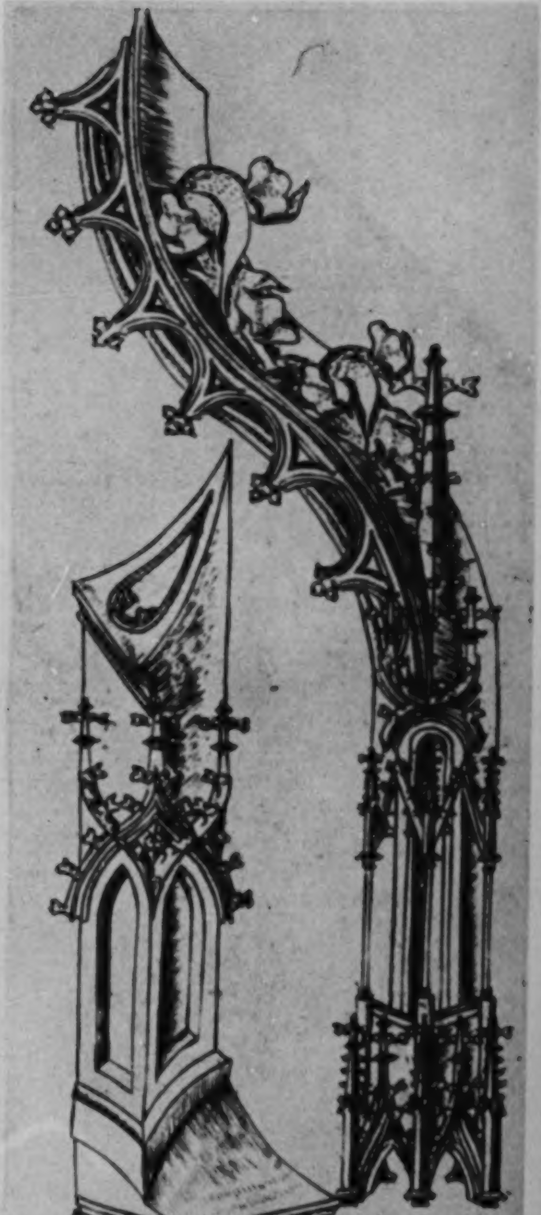

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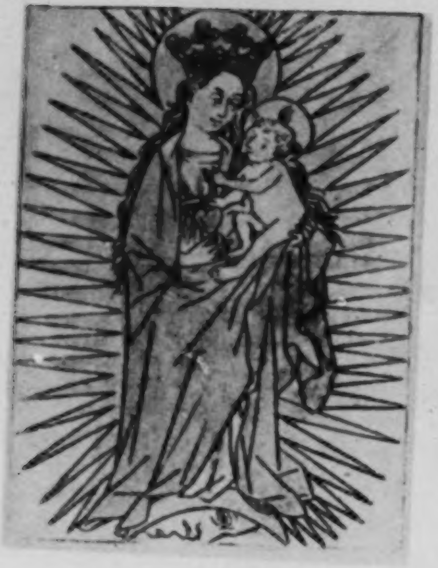

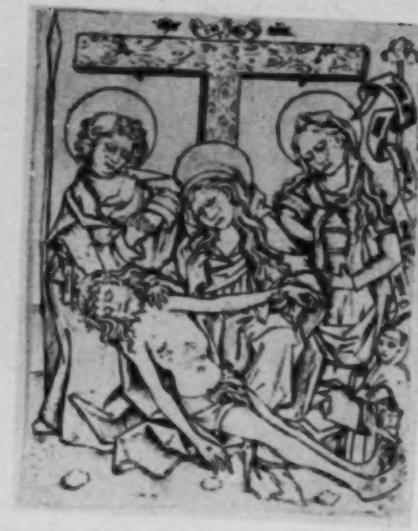

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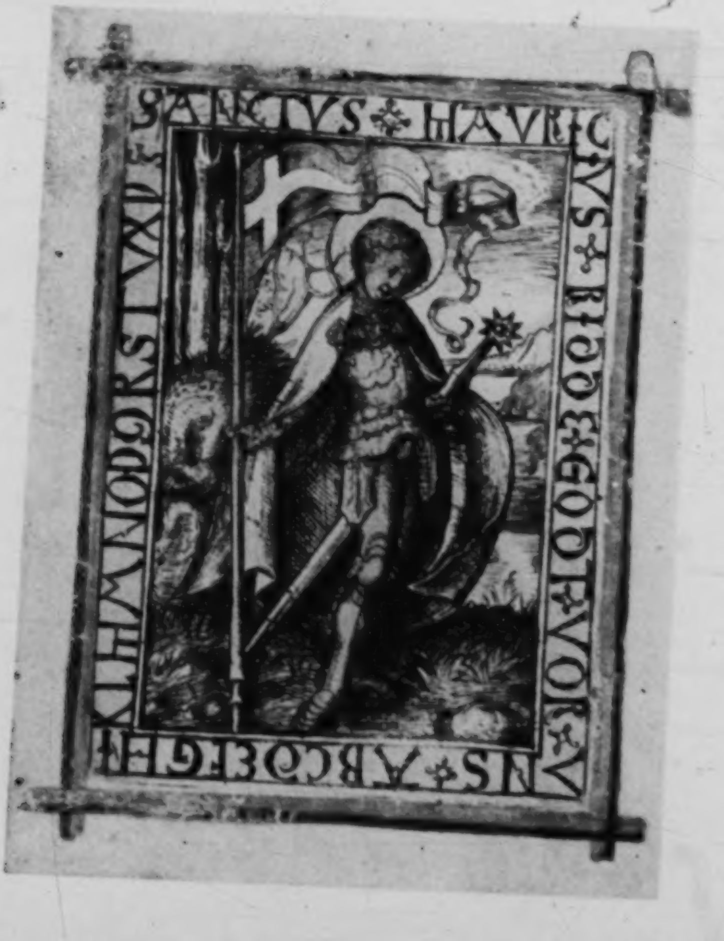
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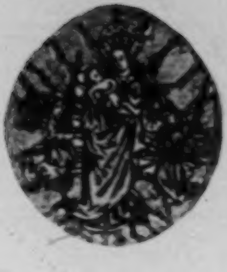
253

254



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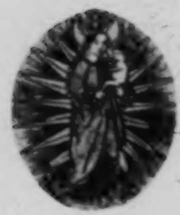

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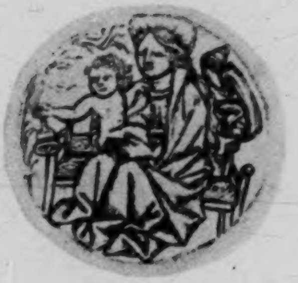

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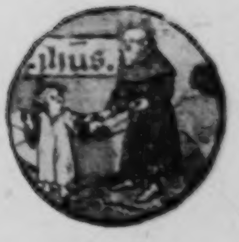

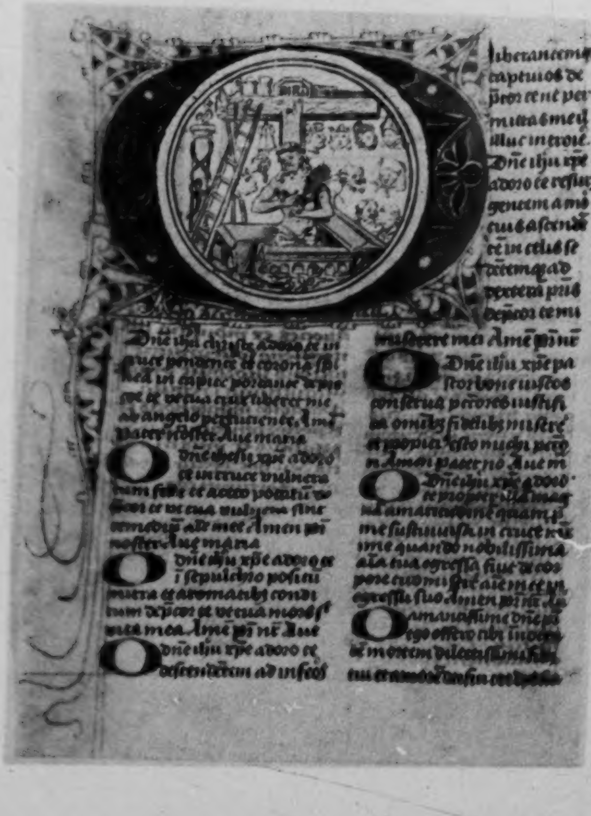

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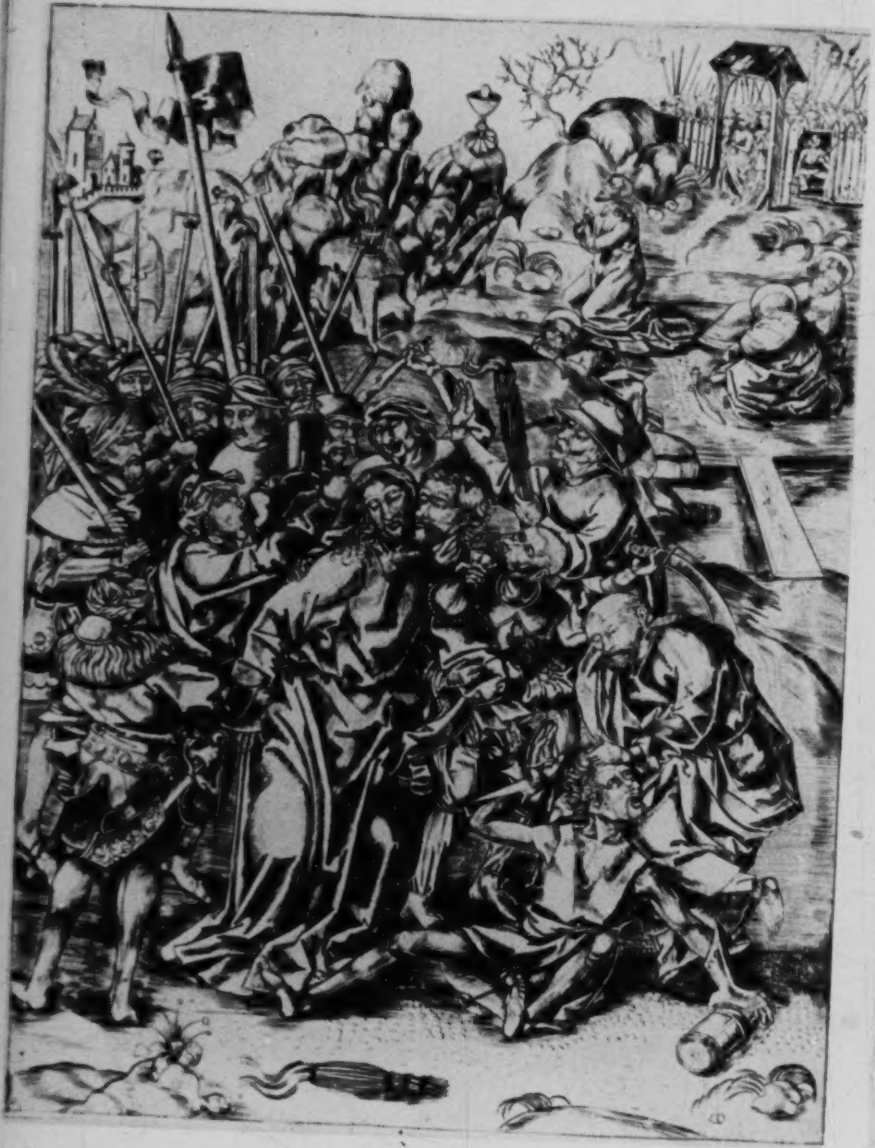

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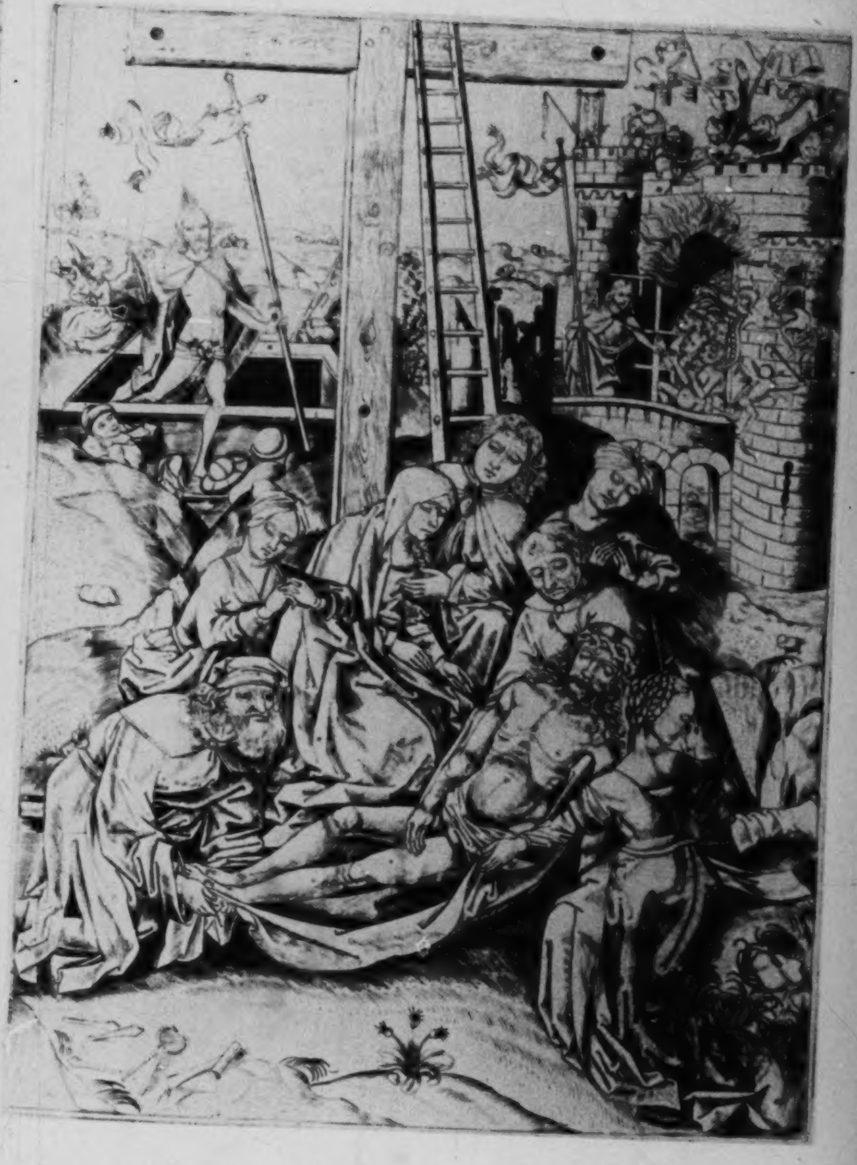

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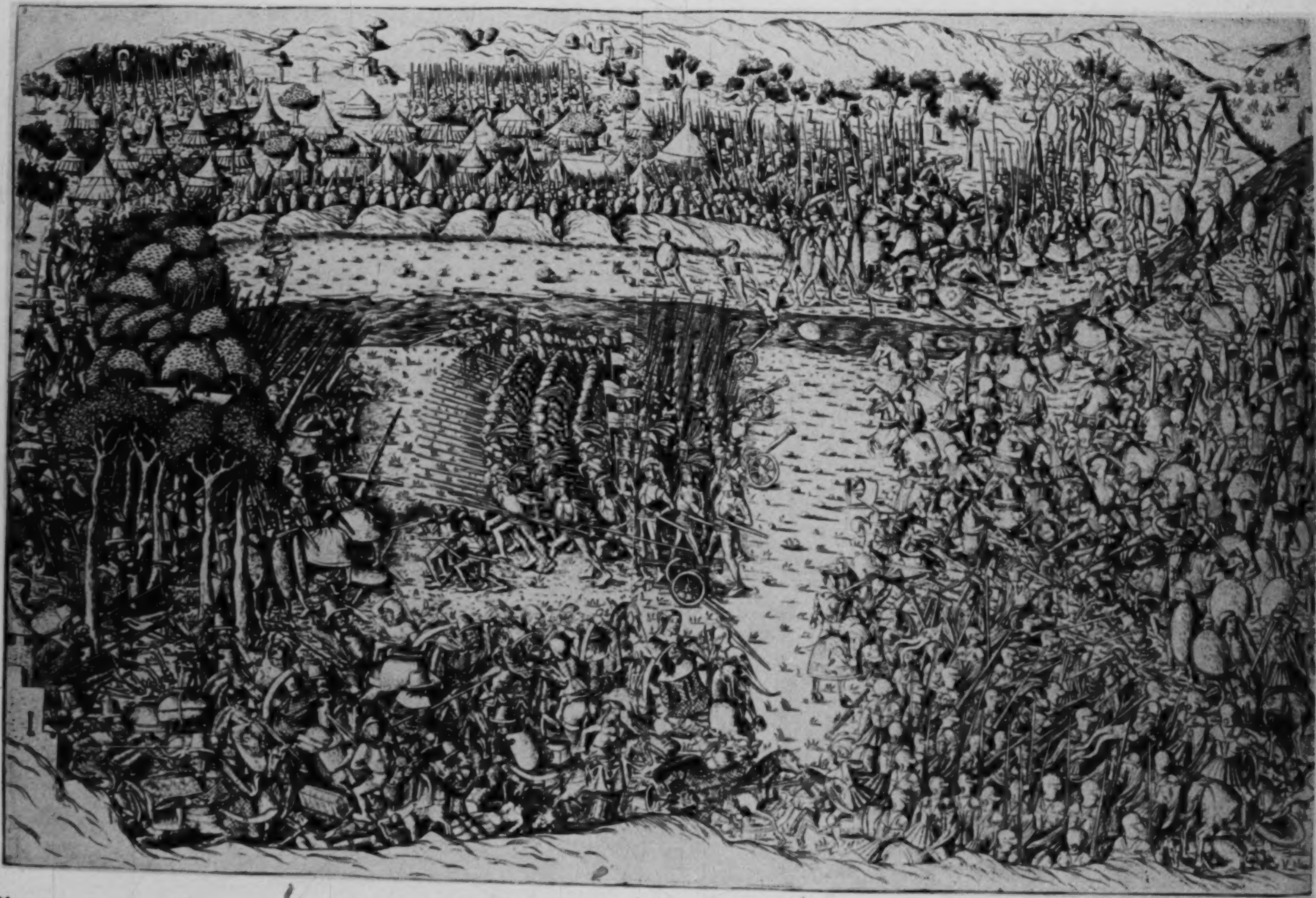

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